

# Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period

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# Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period

*Edited by*

Natalia Maillard Álvarez



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*Pedro Rueda Ramírez* fulfilled his degree and his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Seville. In December 2002 he defended the thesis entitled “The Trade of Books with America in the 17th Century”. Since 2006 he is professor in the Faculty of Library and Information Science (University of Barcelona). The main objective of his investigations is the book in circulation. This line of work makes possible to detect the actual material changes in the books sent to America. Also it facilitates the pursuit of the publishing history of texts, obtaining a reconstruction of the sales and of the distribution circuit of books.

*Stijn Van Rossem* is director of the Museum of Letters and Manuscripts in Brussels. He is finalising a PhD on the production and publishing strategies of the Verdussen family. He is a visiting professor at the UNAM (Mexico City, Art History) and the School of Arts (Gent, Graphic Design). Since 2009 he is the president of the Flanders Book Historical Society (Vlaamse Werkgroep Boekgeschiedenis).



## INTRODUCTION

Natalia Maillard Álvarez

Since Gutenberg's publication of the 42-line Bible, religious texts (not only books) amounted to a significant proportion of all documents printed in Europe, so that by the time Martin Luther initiated the Reformation in 1517 the printing press had already become one of the most effective tools in the oncoming struggle. In fact, the idea of the Reformation as Gutenberg's child was already popular in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> But if this is the case, might we say that the subsequent Catholic Counter-Reformation was Gutenberg's step-child?

It is nowadays amply recognised that not only did the Catholic Church not oppose the printing press or, in general, the publication of books but that, in fact, it used both tools as much as possible,<sup>2</sup> even prior to the beginning of the Reformation.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the Church was directly

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<sup>1</sup> Jean-François Gilmont, *La Réforme et le livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé. 1517–v.1570* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 9. In this work Gilmont also highlights the fact that some reformers (including Luther himself) occasionally expressed negative views on the printing press. However, the idea of a historical trajectory causally and ineludibly linking printing press and Reform has been very successful among academics: in the words of A.G. Dickens: 'Unlike the Wycliffite and Waldesian heresies, Lutheranism was from the first the child of the printed book, and through this vehicle Luther was able to make exact, standardized and ineradicable impressions on the mind of Europe. For the first time in human history a great reading public judged the validity of revolutionary ideas through a mass-medium which used the vernacular languages together with the arts of the journalist and cartoonist', Dickens, *Reformation and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 51. According to Elizabeth L. Eisenstein 'Printing and Protestantism seem to go together naturally', Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 151. In another work, this same author criticises the attempts at the revision of this point by adding that 'The Roman church that had initially welcomed the divine art became much more ambivalent about the invention after the Protestant revolt. It tended to take a reactive rather than a proactive approach to the uses of print', Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine. The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011), 45.

<sup>2</sup> Denis Pallier, 'Les réponses catholiques', in Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (dirs.), *Histoire de l'édition Française I: Le livre conquérant. Du Moyen Âge au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Promodis, 1983), 327–347. Fernando Bouza Álvarez, 'Contrarreforma y Tipografía ¿Nada más que Rosarios en sus Manos?', in *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, n. 16 (1995), pp. 73–88.

<sup>3</sup> In this regard, the installation of printing presses in European monasteries already in the fifteenth century is significant. Falk Eisermann, 'A Golden Age? Monastic Printing Houses in the Fifteenth Century', in Bentio Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Cultures and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 37–67.

responsible for the arrival of the printing press to many regions,<sup>4</sup> while in others it was used as an instrument in support of isolated Catholic groups, for example in England during the Elizabethan period.<sup>5</sup> 'Control and exuberance' were Po-Chia's well-chosen words to describe the Catholic editorial world after the Council of Trent,<sup>6</sup> where important decisions were taken concerning the printing press,<sup>7</sup> such as the homogenisation of common liturgical texts in all Catholic lands and the fixation of the Biblical version to be used in all of them (the Vulgate).<sup>8</sup> At the same time, the Golden Age of Catholic theology which followed the council had a notable impact on the production of printed texts.<sup>9</sup> As a result, and despite the persistence of considerable differences, Catholics all over the world had a large and evolving *corpus* of common readings.

Simultaneously, a number of systems of book-control—another phenomenon pre-dating the Reformation—were implemented. The indexes of prohibited or expurgated books were one of the main weapons of Catholic censorship. The earliest Roman index is dated to 1559, but similar publications had seen the light before that date, and not only in Rome. The work of Jesús Martínez de Bujanda has resulted in a valuable critical edition of these indexes,<sup>10</sup> and the bibliography on censorship and on the

<sup>4</sup> In the case of Mexico, the installation of a printing press was promoted by Bishop Zumárraga, who wished to be thus able to attend to the spiritual needs of his flock. Clive Griffin, *The Cromberger of Seville. The History of a printing and merchant dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). The Viceroyalty of Peru presents a similar case: the arrival of the first printing press followed the debates of the III Provincial Council. José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima. 1584–1824* (Santiago de Chile, 1894–1895).

<sup>5</sup> H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers. 1558–1603* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 113.

<sup>6</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal* (Cambridge: University Press, 2005), 172.

<sup>7</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book. Religion, Absolutism, and Readership, 1585–1715* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 13.

<sup>8</sup> David J. Shaw, "The Book Trade Comes of Age: The Sixteenth Century", in Simon Elliot and Jonathan Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 226; also Dominique Julia, "Lectures et Contre-Réforme", in CAVALLO, Guglielmo and CHARTIER, Roger (coord.): *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental* (Paris: Seuil, 1997), 279–314.

<sup>9</sup> As pointed out by Jean Delumeau, 'never had there been so many books of spirituality—often in pocket editions and in the vernacular—so many praises of the Virgin in printed circulation'. Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation* (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), 40–41. Robin Briggs stresses in a reference to the French case, that 'Religious books dominated seventeenth-century French publishing, in terms of both titles and print runs', Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief. Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 366.

<sup>10</sup> Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, *Index de l'Inquisition Espagnole: 1551, 1554, 1559* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 1984); *idem*, *Index de l'Université de Paris: 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 1985); *idem*, *Index de l'Université*

systems put into place to control the production, circulation and consumption of books has grown unstoppably in recent times.<sup>11</sup> Each Catholic territory adapted the orders from Rome and the list of common readings to their own circumstances and interests.<sup>12</sup> In this regard, book policies varied widely, even between lands under the same ruler.

On the other hand, book production and trade were from an early date organised according to a single transnational system, a system which evolved over time in response to a number of circumstances (such as geographical discoveries, economic change, and wars).<sup>13</sup> Reformation nourished and encouraged the printing press in many European regions and cities,<sup>14</sup> and the reformists made prolific use of already existing communication networks to facilitate the circulation and dissemination of their texts.<sup>15</sup> Yet the Catholic Church did not neglect to take the opportunity offered by printers and booksellers, who had to be recruited in the war against Reformation, for the propagation of the counter-reformist message.<sup>16</sup> The examination of reading practices in Catholic lands reveals that the differences with the regions in which the Reformation had been successful were not as significant as could be expected, as already pointed out by Sara T. Nalle.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, in the Catholic world commercial book

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de Loaine: 1546, 1550, 1558 (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 1986); idem, *Index de Venise 1549, Venise et Milan 1554* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 1987); idem, *Index d'Anvers: 1569, 1570, 1571* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 1988); idem, *Index de Rome, 1557, 1559, 1564* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 1990); idem, *Index de l'Inquisition Espagnole: 1583, 1584* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 1993); idem, *Index librorum prohibitorum: 1600–1966* (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Ugo Rozzo (ed.): *La censura libraria nell'Europa del secolo XVI* (Udine: Forum, 1997); Mario Infelise, *I libri proibiti* (Rome: Laterza, 1999) Fermín de los Reyes, *El libro en España y América. Legislación y censura. Siglos XV–XVIII* (Madrid: Arco, 2000); Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); special issue *La censura en la Edad Moderna*, in *Cultura Escrita y Sociedad*, n. 7 (2008), pp. 9–156.

<sup>12</sup> Gigliola Fragnito (ed.): *Church, Censorship and Culture....*

<sup>13</sup> Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *La aparición del libro* (Mexico: FCE, 2005), 264.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (Yale: University Press, 2010), 91–106.

<sup>15</sup> John D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1–2.

<sup>16</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book...*, 19.

<sup>17</sup> 'In mirror image of one another Catholic and Protestants societies printed prayer booklets, established Sunday schools, sent out inspectors to evaluate progress in rural areas, and devised methods to ensure continued compliance', Sara T. Nalle, "Self-Correction and Social Change in the Spanish Counter-Reformation", in James D. Tracy and Marguerite Ragnow (eds.), *Religion and the Early Modern State. Views from China, Russia, and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 302–323 (305). Confessional frontiers could well have been trespassed by printers and booksellers on business missions, Th. Clemens, "The Trade in Catholic Books from the Northern to the Southern Netherlands, 1600–1795", in *Le Magasin de l'Univers. The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 85–94.

distribution networks were supplemented with others created by missionaries.<sup>18</sup> That way, through the circulation, commercial or otherwise, of books or other minor publications the Counter-Reformation and its early and strong proselytising spirit contributed to shape not only European culture but also the way it was transferred to (and imposed upon) others beyond.

The main target of this volume is to shed some light on the routes, networks and mechanisms of book circulation, control and reception in Catholic communities between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. We shall not only be considering books written in Latin, the circulation of which was more often of an international character,<sup>19</sup> but also books written in vernacular languages and read in different Catholic territories; the translations that made this possible were not always unbiased. Furthermore, the volume does not focus solely on religious texts, but on any kind of books produced, circulated or read in Catholic communities during the Modern Period. The idea behind our compilation is to offer a transnational approach to the analysis of the similarities and differences in book consumption between different Catholic communities. This involves a very wide geographical and chronological scope, defined by the relationship between Catholicism (as the religion of the majority in a given area or otherwise) and books. The works included in the present volume, therefore, refer to very distant territories in Europe, America and Africa, and to their bibliographic connections with one another.

As will be made clear in the following pages, the global or transnational approach adopted in the volume overcomes old prejudices and commonplaces about the decadence of the printing press in certain centres and the cultural isolation of others, while stressing the existence of common readings in very distant—both chronologically and geographically—groups. These common readings were not only cultural links, but the true substratum of creativity in the Catholic world.

In the first chapter, Stijn Van Rossem analyses the Counter-Reformation as a business opportunity for those professionals of the book trade that knew how to adapt to the new conditions. His study revolves around the Verdussens, a dynasty of Flemish printers; the evolution of their catalogue

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<sup>18</sup> The case of the Jesuits is probably the most prolifically studied. For example see Perla Chinchilla and Antonella Romano (eds.) *Escrituras de la modernidad. Los jesuitas entre cultura retórica y cultura científica* (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2008) and Noël Golvers, *Portuguese Books and their Readers in the Jesuit Mission of China. 17th-18th centuries* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book...*, 6.

reveals how local circumstances may have global repercussions. The chapter contributed by Pedro Rueda Ramírez uses a case study—the first catalogue of books printed in Europe and for sale in the New World, made in Seville by a printer and book trader of Flemish origin, Diego Crance—to examine the commercial strategies in the book trade of the Atlantic world.

In his complex study of the creation, reception and dissemination of Castilian spiritual literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Rafael M. Pérez García offers a vivid example of the determinant influence that common readings had on Catholic spiritual and intellectual movements even long before the Council of Trent, while superseding the barriers set by nationalist historiography to their global comprehension. My own work also focuses on shared readings in two such distant locations as Castile and New Spain, specifically on the analysis of the readership of Italian works in the cities of Seville and Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mostly achieved through the scrutiny of notarial documents. Bianca Lindorfer presents a study of the consumption of Spanish literature among the Austrian nobility in the seventeenth century, stressing how the trans-national networks between Vienna and Madrid favoured an intense cultural exchange in which books played a particularly relevant role. The chapter contributed by Idalia García Aguilar brings us back to America once more in order to examine the instruments deployed by the Inquisition to control readers in New Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These Inquisitorial practices and their related documentation are, in fact, the source of a relevant part of our information on said readership.

Finally, Adrien Delmas's chapter allows us to compare the use and perception of books in the Catholic and the Protestant worlds, by analysing readers in Cape Town, where the alleged absence of books (as with the Spanish American colonies) was used as an instrument of propaganda.

This book is the result of a workshop celebrated on 16 and 17 February 2012 at the European University Institute, Florence, with the funding of the Intra-European Marie Curie Fellowship, 7th European Community Framework Programme, under the supervision of Professor Bartolomé Yun Casalilla. This meeting was also supported by Professor Yun Casalilla and by Antonella Romano, whose help I wish to acknowledge. Aside from the contributors to the present volume, the meeting was also attended by professors Clive Griffin, Noël Golvers and Angela Nuovo, whose contributions were of enormous value for all participants.

Seville, March 2013.



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE VERDUSSENS AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN CATHOLIC BOOKS (ANTWERP, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)\*

Stijn Van Rossem

The year 1585 was an important turning point in the history of the Low Countries. The Fall of Antwerp marked the end of Protestant influence in the Southern provinces and led to the *de facto* separation between the protestant North and the Catholic South. Many investors moved North at the dawn of what would become the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic. Yet, the Fall on Antwerp was not the end of Antwerp as a mercantile center. It was Roland Baetens who launched the concept of 'the indian summer of Antwerp's prosperity' in a 1976 study of the De Groote trading house.<sup>1</sup> Baetens used the concept to refer to the relative prosperity of trade in Antwerp during the first half of the seventeenth century. After 1585 the city of Antwerp enjoyed a relative economic and cultural boom by specialising in luxury items and by immersing itself entirely in its new Catholic identity. The real downfall of the international position of Antwerp, started in the second half of the seventeenth century. Recently, even this theory has been put to the test. Ilja Van Damme has 'rehabilitated' the economic status in the second half of the seventeenth century, concluding that no true economic crisis occurred in the cities of the Southern Netherlands until the first decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

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List of Abbreviations: CAA: City Archive Antwerp; MPM: Museum Plantin-Moretus; AHPS, *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla*; STCV: Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen/Flanders.

\* The title refers to the article of Jan Materné, 'La librairie de la Contre-Réforme: le réseau de l'Officine plantinienne au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,' in *Europe et le livre: réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie XVI-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Frédéric Barbier, e.a. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996) 43–60. This contribution is a follow-up article of Stijn van Rossem, 'The Bookshop of the Counter-Reformation Revisited. The Verdussen Company and the Trade in Catholic Publications, Antwerp, 1585–1648,' *Quaerendo* 38 (2008): 306–321.

<sup>1</sup> Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart: de diaspora en het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw*, 2 vols. (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet van België 1976).

<sup>2</sup> Ilja van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen: Antwerpse kleinhandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648-ca. 1748)* (Amsterdam: Aksant 2007).

When it comes to book historical historiography, the dates 1585 and 1648 still serve as important demarcation points to describe the decline of Antwerp as a typographic center. In this view, Antwerp lost its leading role as a center of Humanist printing to Amsterdam after 1585, but the Antwerp printers and booksellers managed to prolong their international status until 1648 by embracing the new spirit of the triumphant restoration of the Catholic Church and by recognising the economic potential that it represented. The period after 1648 is characterised as a time of crisis, impoverishment and increasing provincialism. It builds upon stereotypical statements, e.g. made by Le Clercq, who described the period following 1648 as follows:

la pleine décadence de l'imprimerie en Belgique, commencée par le traité de Munster en 1648 et achevée en 1715 par le traité de la Barrière, qui fermait toutes nos frontières à l'exportation.<sup>3</sup>

In a 1969 article, Leon Voet advanced the slightly milder proposition that Antwerp had slipped back into the status of a regional typographic center during the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> Francine de Nave repeated these words in the 1990s, proposing that, after 1640, the late summer of Antwerp typography had passed, under the influence of the economic and political troubles that took place at that time.<sup>5</sup> In the opinion of Voet and De Nave, the *Officina Plantiniana* was the only company to be able to hold its own within this downward spiral.

To date, investigations of this topic have been dominated largely by the *Officina Plantiniana*, which has served as a *pars pro toto* for the typographical activities that took place in the Southern Netherlands. In essence, the history of the early modern book trade in the Netherlands has been oversimplified as a parabola that reached its peak in the activities of Christophe Plantin. The period before Plantin is strewn with important predecessors, including Gherard Leeu, Petrus Phalesius and Joannes Steelsius, who were internationally oriented publishers of learned books, albeit not on the

<sup>3</sup> Leopold le Clercq, 'Les catalogues des Verdussen, imprimeurs-libraires et bibliophiles,' *De Gulden Passer* 10/4 (1932): 141: 'the complete downfall of the printing press in Belgium, started with the Treaty of Munster in 1648 and finalised with the Barrier Treaty in 1715, closing our borders for export.'

<sup>4</sup> Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co, 1969–1972), vol. 1, 215.

<sup>5</sup> Francine de Nave, 'Een typografische hoofdstad in opkomst, bloei en verval' in *Antwerpen, verhaal van een metropool*, eds. Jan van der Stock, e.a. (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993), 94.



same scale as Plantin. Representations of the heyday of the book-printing trade in the Southern Netherlands often refer to Antwerp's international reputation as a typographic center and to the wide dissemination of printed materials from Antwerp.<sup>6</sup> In general economic terms, this period coincides with the period in which Antwerp blossomed as a leading international trading city.

This one-sided focus on the history of the *Officina Plantiniana* has impeded the development of any diversified view of the history of Antwerp as a center of typography. The flourishing and decline of this company did indeed broadly coincide with the myths about the economic decline after 1585. Although the company had experienced its period of greatest prosperity following the re-conquest of Antwerp by the Spanish troops, the first generations of Plantin's successors, Joannes I Moretus, Joannes II and Balthasar I Moretus were able to maintain its good name and reputation. In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, the *Officina* devoted its operations completely to the export of liturgical materials for the Spanish market through publications of gradually decreasing typographic quality.<sup>7</sup> Thus far, however, no research has addressed any of Antwerp's other international networks of booksellers. Nor have any scholars questioned whether other families had taken over the connections or book genres with which the *Officina* no longer wished to be concerned after 1650. In other words, it would be logical to ask whether the changes that have been documented should be attributed to a shift or change in the way books were disseminated throughout the world from or through Antwerp, instead of to the advance of provincialism and decay.

This paper is part of a research project at the University of Antwerp into printing and publishing strategies between the Fall of Antwerp and the Peace of Munster on the basis of *one* particular case, namely the Verdussen family.<sup>8</sup> This relatively unknown family of printers, like the famous

<sup>6</sup> For example, see De Nave, 'Een typografische hoofdstad', 87–95; Jan Materné, 'Restructuring the Plantinian Office. The Moretusses and the Antwerp Economy in a time of Transition' in *Studia Historica Oeconomica: liber alumnorum Herman Van der Wee*, eds. Erik Aerts, Brigitte Henau & Paul Janssens (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 283–301; Materné, 'La librairie de la Contre-Réforme' and Jan Materné, 'De contrareformatrische boekbusiness in Antwerpens nazomertijd. De eerste losse Moretusdrukken van Lipsius' controversiële Mariatraktaten op Europese boekenmarkten,' *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 84/4 (2001): 149–160.

<sup>7</sup> Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co, 1969), vol 1, 225.

<sup>8</sup> The project 'Drukkersproductie en uitgeversstrategieën na de Val van Antwerpen. Casus: Hieronymus I and Hieronymus II Verdussen' (Printing Press Production and

Plantin-Moretus dynasty, produced books between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Thanks to this centuries-long continuity within the company, its archives have been partially preserved, providing us with a unique opportunity to broaden our insight into the seventeenth-century world of printing in the city of Antwerp and especially to compare it with our knowledge of the *Officina Plantiniana*.

The Verdussen family is one of those printing families who entered the book business after 1585 and its activities are plunged in the spirit of the Catholic Renewal.<sup>10</sup> From the Council of Trent onwards, the religious and worldly leaders of the Catholic states elaborated an ambitious program to counter the advance of Protestantism. This struggle for the salvation of the soul was impossible without an impressive communication offensive in which printed books played a central role.<sup>11</sup> This included the highly controlled production of new canons of liturgical texts, the promotion of a vast array of devotional works for the masses and the instruction of these dogmas through schoolbooks and catechisms. Governments wanted to guard over the content by granting monopolies on these new genres to one printing house. In the Southern Netherlands, the main monopoly, on the production of liturgical books, belonged to the *Officina Plantiniana*.<sup>12</sup> The other firms tried to obtain similar monopolies for other genres. The Verdussen family was quite successful in this respect, not only getting monopolies on Mint Ordinances (with illustrations of different coins), but also on liturgical works for various religious orders, schoolbooks, and the official catechism. On the side, the family also tried control the production of news, another genre the government was highly interested in. One could argue that the production of these genres, which provided a source

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Publishing Strategies after the Fall of Antwerp. Case: Hieronymus I and Hieronymus II Verdussen) was funded between 2004 and 2006 by the University of Antwerp and tutored by prof. dr. Pierre Delsaert. From 2007 until 2009 the project continued with funds from the Research Foundation-Flanders (FWO-Vlaanderen).

<sup>9</sup> For biographical information on the Verdussen family: Leon Voet, 'Verdussen, famille d'imprimeurs-libraires à Anvers' in *Biographie nationale* 30 (1959), 798–805; Roland Baetens, 'Verdussen, Cornelius I', 'Verdussen, Guilielmus', 'Verdussen, Hendrik', 'Verdussen, Hendrik Peter', 'Verdussen, Hieronymus I', 'Verdussen, Hieronymus II', 'Verdussen, Hieronymus III', 'Verdussen, Hieronymus V', 'Verdussen, Joannes Baptista I', 'Verdussen, Joannes Baptista II' and 'Verdussen, Joannes Baptista III' in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* 12 (1987), 774–785.

<sup>10</sup> Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> On the situation in Antwerp: Alfons K.L. Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk: maatschappelijke betekenis van de Kerk in contrareformatorisch Antwerpen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. 1, p. 65 and vol. 2, p. 266.

of regular income, formed the basis for the growth of the Verdussen firm to one of the largest of Antwerp.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Antwerp booksellers faced big challenges. In the Southern Netherlands, the Counter-Reformation boom was over. This caused a decrease in the local demand and some printers found it hard to stay in business. Like in other art sectors, some booksellers could overcome this crisis by searching for new, i.e. international, markets. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the geographic reorientation and specialisation of the Antwerp book trade by examining the case of the Verdussen family.

The Verdussen archives are far from complete. Because the shop records of the Verdussen firm have not been preserved, we must make do with two types of incomplete series of sources. One important source includes the lists of creditors and debtors compiled by notaries as part of post-mortem inventories. We have access to these lists for Hieronymus II and Hieronymus III, but not for Hieronymus I. This source is subject to several important cautionary comments. The lists reflect single cross-sections of the status of trading activities. The list notes all of the parties who owed or were due money at the time of death. It is thus by no means a complete list of the Verdussen family's customers or suppliers. It nevertheless provides an idea of the scope of the company's activities. The trading partners appearing on the lists of creditors and debtors probably had open accounts, thus indicating more than an isolated commercial relationship. Reliable partners were not required to settle their accounts after each delivery. Instead, they did so at specific times or whenever the balance in the account between two trading book dealers was in jeopardy. A second limitation of the creditor and debtor lists is that the size of outstanding sums cannot be interpreted as a simple indication of the importance of the commercial partner in question. A high outstanding bill could also indicate an unfavourable commercial relationship, in which one of the parties was unable or unwilling to settle the debt. In addition, a small debt could be associated with an intensive commercial relationship, in which both booksellers acquired books of equivalent value from each other's collections.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> This error appears e.g. in Gerrit Verhoeven, 'Het vertrouwen geschonden. Ideeën over beroepseer, rechtvaardigheid en norm in de bedrijfscultuur van de Antwerpse uitgevers Moretus en Verdussen (ca. 1665–1675),' *De zeventiende eeuw* 21/2 (2004), 375–395 and Gerrit Verhoeven, 'Grondslagen van verandering. Assimilatie en differentiatie van het Antwerpse boekbedrijf in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw,' *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 122 (2007): 15–27. He considers the figures from the lists of creditors and debtors as sales. This is incorrect, given that they are more likely to

A second set of sources includes the correspondence between booksellers concerning orders, deliveries and payments. This series is also far from complete. Containing 259 letters, the correspondence of Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I with their commercial partners between 1669 and 1672 is the most extensive collection, although it covers only one year.<sup>14</sup> Additional records include eleven letters between Jan van Doorn and Hieronymus I Verdussen from the period 1629–1630 and the correspondence (sixteen letters) between the Verdussens and French booksellers from the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> In addition to these series, the archives contain several individual letters, some of which are of considerable value. One example is a letter to Hieronymus III Verdussen by the bookseller Bernardo Mosquera of Lima.<sup>16</sup>

One major problem with these sources is that they often indicate only the Verdussens' direct contacts. The Verdussen archives thus reveal only the next link in the long chain between author and buyer. One of the characteristics of the early modern book trade is the frequent presence of a small army of intermediaries between the printer of a book and its ultimate purchaser. In contemporary economic terms, the Verdussens thus operated according to a business-to-business model instead of a business-to-consumer model.<sup>17</sup> In some cases, they traded books that they had acquired from other booksellers. In other cases, they sent books to other booksellers, who subsequently resold them to other parties. It would be nearly impossible to trace the ultimate purchasers of books, and any attempt to do so would exceed the scope of this investigation. The network that is presented below is thus incomplete. For example, if a book had been delivered by both the Verdussens and another bookseller, it would be necessary to investigate the second bookseller's network. This would not be feasible, due to the lack of both time and the necessary source material. Within the framework of this study, one branch of the network is subjected to further investigation: the books that were sent

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reflect the trade balance between two companies than they are to indicate sales. Verhoeven refers to declining domestic sales rates, even though such a conclusion cannot be deduced from this source (Verhoeven, 'Grondslagen van verandering', Footnote 67).

<sup>14</sup> Published in Maurits Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen, 1669–1672* (Uitgave van de Vereniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 37 en 43) 2 vols. (Antwerpen-'s-Gravenhage: Vereniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen-M. Nijhoff, 1923–1926).

<sup>15</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 96, 99 and 160/4.

<sup>16</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 99, letter dated 24 September 1679.

<sup>17</sup> Guido De Smet, 'De boekhandel: een bedrijfseconomische benadering' in *De winst van de lezer. Inleiding tot het boekenvak in Vlaanderen*, ed. Pierre Delsaert (Leuven: Acco, 2011), 97.

from Antwerp to New Spain through Seville in the second half of the seventeenth century.

*1649: The Heritage of Antwerp's Indian Summer*

At the end of his life, Hieronymus II had the list of creditors and debtors compiled in preparation for the company's definitive assumption by his sons Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I. This debt list provides the most complete overview of the Verdussens' network during the first 50 years. Even considering the limitations of such sources (as described above), the list provides a good indication of the scope and distribution of the Verdussens' book trade.<sup>18</sup> Table 1 presents the number of business partners, by city or village, having open accounts with the Verdussens in 1649. For the Southern Netherlands, the accounts are further subdivided by province. Proceeding from the premise that it would have been only the important customers or trading partners who would not have had to settle their bills immediately, the Verdussens' network could be described as extensive and dense. The balance was centred in the core areas of the Southern Netherlands (i.e. Brabant and Flanders), as well as in the major typographic centres of neighbouring countries (e.g. the province of Holland and the city of Cologne). About two thirds of all contacts were active in the Southern Netherlands. Within this region, the large cities are the most notable: Antwerp (21 contacts), Brussels (18 contacts), Leuven (11), Mechelen (9), Ghent (6) and Bruges (6). It is nevertheless interesting to note that, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Verdussens also dealt with small towns and villages. Although several were in Brabant (e.g. Tienen and Turnhout), most were in Flanders (e.g. Furnes, Zottegem and Geraardsbergen). French Flanders, which was part of the county of Flanders until 1667, was also well represented: Lille (5), Douai (5), Arras, Bergues, Saint-Omer and Bethune. The Verdussens were largely absent from the provinces of Namur and Hainaut. The Verdussens had many customers in the Republic, primarily in the large cities and in predominantly Catholic areas (e.g. State Brabant), as well as in the eastern regions (e.g. Limburg and Gelderland). In these areas as well, the Verdussens had direct contacts in small towns (e.g. Helmond, Eindhoven and Roermond). The commercial activities with the German Hereditary

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<sup>18</sup> The list is located in the CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 97, in three volumes of 6, 2 and 2 pages, respectively.

Lands were concentrated largely in Cologne, with outliers in Nuremberg and Gdansk in Poland.

Table 1. Number of commercial contacts with outstanding bills in 1649, broken down by country, province and city.

Country Province	City	Number of Trading Partners
Southern Netherlands		
Brabant		65
	Antwerp	21
	Brussels	18
	Leuven	11
	Mechelen	9
	Tienen	3
	Turnhout	1
	Lier	1
Flanders	Scherpenheuvel	1
		46
	Ghent	6
	Bruges	6
	Lille	5
	Douai	5
	Ypres	4
	Arras	3
	Geraardsbergen	2
	Oudenaarde	2
	Dunkirk	2
	Tournai	2
	Kortrijk	1
	Veurne	1
	Zottegem	1
	Dendermonde	1
	Bethune	1
	Diksmuide	1
	Koksijde	1
	Bergues	1
	Saint-Omer	1
Namur	Namur	2

Country Province	City	Number of Trading Partners
Hainaut	Mons	5
France	Rouen	1
Spain	Madrid	1
Republic		41
Holland	Amsterdam	9
	Leiden	3
	The Hague	4
	Rotterdam	5
State Brabant	's-Hertogenbosch	2
	Bergen op Zoom	1
	Eindhoven	1
	Hulst	1
	Helmond	1
Utrecht	Utrecht	4
Gelder	Arnhem	1
	Kevelaer	1
	Roermond	3
	Maastricht	6
Germany		23
Liège	Liège	3
	Sint-Truiden	1
	Hasselt	2
	Huy	1
	Maaseik	1
Cologne	Cologne	12
Kleve	Rees	1
	Husburch/Stusburch	1
	Neurenburg	1
Poland	Danzig	1
England		1
Unknown		13

As indicated by this list, the Verdussens had few relationships with Southern Europe. As discussed in subsequent sections, however, they had attempted to develop such contacts beginning in the 1620s, albeit without any long-term success. Around 1650, the Verdussens had an extensive network of trading partners, focusing on the Northern and Southern Netherlands, supplemented with Cologne. Compared to the *Officina Plantiniana*, which worked only with booksellers in major cities, the Verdussens' network was more densely composed, with direct deliveries to small towns and villages.<sup>19</sup>

It is also interesting to note that many of the Verdussens' customers were not booksellers: the Antwerp Dominicans (St. Paul Monastery), pastor Vandenbosch and the *stadspensionaris* Christianus Van Broeckhoven in Antwerp, as well as the Finance Council in Brussels, the Mint in Bruges, the Jesuit college in Turnhout, the Oratorians (with their Latin school) and the municipal government of Mechelen, the bailiff of Ghent, the Benedictine sisters of Geraardsbergen (priory of Hunnegem) and the Oratorians of Kevelaer.

Comparing the global credits and debits of Verdussens, their accounts receivable amounted to 31.013 guilders in 1649, with only 14.729 guilders in outstanding debts. This was a normal position for a thriving bookseller who printed a significant portion of his own inventory himself. The largest outstanding bills held by the Verdussens were to be collected from such institutions as the Finance Council (1249 guilders) and the Bruges Mint (910 guilders), as well as from foreign booksellers, including Georgius Fosterus in Gdansk (2052 guilders) and Antonius and Balthasar Bellerus in Madrid (1956 guilders). The high debts owed by financial institutions were most likely related to the mint ordinances that the Verdussens had the exclusive right to print and for which both the Mint officials and the Finance Council undoubtedly had standing sales orders. The large outstanding debt owed by Forsterus and the Bellerus family may indicate a unilateral commercial relationship with the Verdussens. They bought only books from the Verdussens, which caused the costs to increase rapidly; the distance also complicated the process of settling accounts.

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<sup>19</sup> For an analysis of the Verdussens' network in comparison to that of the Moretus family, see also Gerrit Verhoeven, *Het verlangen naar verre markten in de herfst van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Het belang van Antwerpen en Brussel in de internationale boekhandel (1665–1675)* (Unpublished master's thesis, Universiteit Leiden 2003); Verhoeven, 'Grondslagen van verandering'.



*1689: The Flight forward through New Networks*

The list of creditors and debtors that was prepared following the death of Hieronymus III in 1689 shows how the network of the Verdussens had changed during the forty years after 1649. If the 1649 debt list had reflected the legacy of the operations of Hieronymus I and II, this list invoked the entrepreneurial spirit of the third generation of Verdussens. They sought refuge in foreign markets, possibly forced by the declining demand for high-quality Counter-Reformation materials in the Low Countries. The high point of the Counter Reformation, the effects of which had included the publication of new or updated materials in various genres (e.g. catechisms, liturgical printing, textbooks) had passed. The Verdussens' internationalisation efforts also coincided with the rise of the company's reputation within the publishing industry of the Southern Netherlands. In the mid-seventeenth century, *De Gulden Leeuw* (the Golden Lion) was a solid player, with more than half a century of experience and fame. Of the companies that had shaped the 1585 re-orientation of the Antwerp book trade from humanism towards the Counter Reformation, it was one of the few to be still flourishing three generations later.

The entrepreneurial spirit of the third-generation Verdussens could be described according to several characteristics. The first that comes to mind is their concentration of business contacts, relative to 1649. In 1649, they still had 183 permanent commercial partners in 52 locations. Forty years later, this number had decreased to only 42 contacts in 20 locations (see Table 2). Only the major cities and large booksellers still appeared in the accounts. The Verdussens thus eliminated all small traders from their network in order to focus exclusively on regional centres. This re-arrangement could be interpreted as a response to an economy that was less than robust, in which the Verdussens opted to eliminate the smaller (and therefore potentially more vulnerable) companies in order to limit their own financial risks. On the other hand, this decision could indicate that the Verdussens had strengthened their market position, thus allowing them to restrict their focus to a few privileged customers. They introduced a two-tier system, in which the bookseller in question subsequently arranged distribution in smaller centers or with other colleagues. Jan Materné and Gerrit Verhoeven identify a similar trend in the distribution of the *Officina Plantiniana* during the same period.<sup>20</sup> Materné interprets these changes in the *Officina's* distribution patterns (centralisation

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<sup>20</sup> Verhoeven, 'Grondslagen van verandering,' 380–386.

in large cities) and payment mechanisms (from the exchange system to regular cash payments) beginning in the 1640s as an important step in the modernisation of the book trade, which the literature often places only in the eighteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Evidence of the rationalisation of the book trade is not limited to the Moretus family. The data presented above indicate that the Verdussens evolved in the same direction around the same time.

Verhoeven explains the demise of the local distribution system according to the increasing importance of the international book trade. For the Verdussens, we observe a similar evolution, albeit less pronounced than was the case with the *Officina Plantiniana*. In 1649, almost two thirds of the Verdussens' trade contacts were still located in the Southern Netherlands. If we include the Northern Netherlands, this figure increases to over 85%. In 1689, however, contacts in the Netherlands account for only 52% of the network (40% for the Southern Netherlands and 12% for the Northern Netherlands). The Verdussens had more commercial relationships in the Iberian Peninsula (21%) and France (19%) than they had in the Republic (see Fig. 1). The following sections discuss the origin, importance and organisation of the Ibero-American book trade for the Verdussens.

One important caveat to the 1689 debt list is that this document provides an overview of the network that is far from complete. In the interest of preserving uniformity in the comparison between 1649 and 1689, both of which are based on a similar source, the analysis has thus far ignored commercial contacts appearing in other sources. For example, the 259 letters from Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I that have been preserved (dating from 1669 to 1672) further reinforce the image of internationalisation. Contacts in the Southern Netherlands account for only 19% of the correspondence. Based on these letters, the focus of the book-trading network was clearly on other countries.

In all, the letters from the Verdussens reached 20 cities. In the Southern Netherlands, this included the capital cities of Brabant. The only contacts in Flanders were the French cities of Lille and Saint-Omer. France and the German Empire together accounted for more than half of the correspondents, with the majority of contacts in the typographic capitals of Paris, Lyon, Frankfurt and Cologne (see Table 3). In contrast, commercial activities in Spain were not so extensive (at least according to the number

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<sup>21</sup> Jan Materné, 'Brabantse boekdistributie en Contrareformatrice conjunctuur. Kostbare drukken en het gewestelijk boekhandelscircuit van de Antwerpse *Officina Plantiniana* einde 16de–midden 17de eeuw,' *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 84/4 (2001): 530–533.

Table 2. Number of commercial contacts with outstanding bills in 1689, broken down by country, province and city.

Country Province	City	Number of Trading Partners
Brabant	Antwerp	1
	Brussels	1
	Leuven	3
Flanders	Ghent	5
	Bruges	3
	Tournai	2
	Kortrijk	1
Namur	Namur	1
France	Lille	4
	Douai	2
	Valence	2
Spain	Madrid	4
	Seville	3
Portugal	Lisbon	2
The Republic	Amsterdam	2
	's-Hertogenbosch	1
	Maastricht	2
Liège	Liège	1
	Huy	1
	Thuin	1

of people involved), even taking a back seat to Portugal. It is interesting to note the contacts with Geneva, which was the quintessential Calvinistic printing centre. On 10 September 1670, Hieronymus III placed an order with Samuel Chouet for 158 copies of 30 titles intended for the Iberian market. The deliveries took place through Frankfurt, with the Verdussens' brother-in-law Lucas de Potter acting as an intermediary.<sup>22</sup> Finally, it is important to note the contacts that are absent from this list. The Verdussens apparently never developed any direct links with Italy. This may have had something to do with the saturated Italian market. Alternatively, such trade may have existed, but only through the book fair in Frankfurt or the Lyon hub, a location that could serve both the Spanish and Italian markets.

<sup>22</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, vol. 1, 111–116.

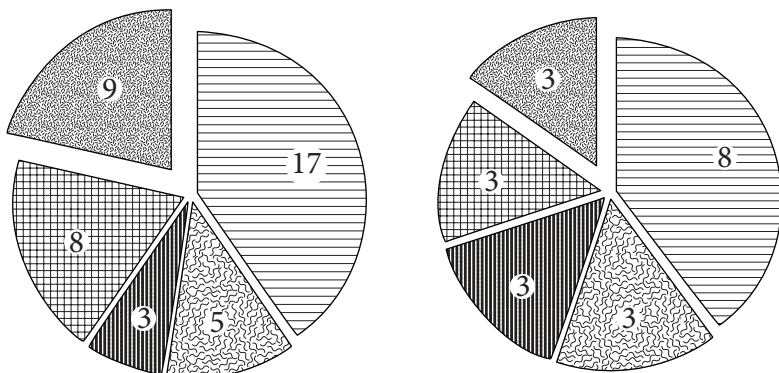


Fig. 1. Number of commercial contacts having outstanding bills with the Verdussens in 1689, by country (left) and number of locations (cities or villages), by country (right).

### *Historical Background of the Iberian Trade*

As with other luxury goods, a large proportion of the Antwerp book production was intended for export, and the Spanish market was amongst the most important. In addition to exporting their own editions to Spain, Antwerp booksellers also shipped those of many other Northern European firms. Furthermore, the exports to Spain involved more than books alone: in the second half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, many Antwerp residents also travelled to Spain and established themselves as printers, publishers and booksellers in various cities, including Salamanca (Mathias de Gast), Madrid (the Van Keerberghen family) or Seville (the Bellerus family). Antwerp was an important centre of production for works by Spanish authors. Between 1470 and 1610, at least 593 publications by Spanish authors appeared in Antwerp. In this regard, Antwerp was surpassed only by Salamanca (709 publications), holding a position ahead of other major Spanish printing centres, including Seville (374) and Alcalá de Henares (34), and even ahead of such renowned typographic centres as Venice (522) and Paris (353).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Frans M.A. Robben, 'Jan Poelman, boekverkoper en vertegenwoordiger van de firma Plantin-Moretus in Salamanca, 1579–1607,' *De Gulden Passer*, 71–72 (1993–1994): 18–19.

Table 3. The commercial partners of Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I Verdussen, per city, in the period 1669–1672 (partners are placed in decreasing order based on the number of entries in the correspondence.

City	Printers Booksellers	Number of listings
Antwerp	8	74
	Jacobus van Meurs	33
	Balthasar II Moretus	15
	Lucas de Potter	12
	Cornelis Woons	5
	Engelbert Gymnicus	4
	Widow Hendrik II	2
	Aertssens	
	Michiel Cnobbaert	2
	Jacob Mesens	1
Brussels	5	24
	Franciscus Foppens	14
	Joannes II Mommaert	7
	Mercelis Velpius	1
	Frédéric Leonard	1
	Widow Balthasar Vivien	1
Leuven	2	7
	Hieronymus Nempe	6
	Peter Sassenius	1
Ghent	1	1
	François d'Ercle	1
Amsterdam	12	32
	Joachim van Metelen	9
	Widow of Jan Jacobsz.	5
	Schipper	
	Jan Jacobsz. Schipper	4
	Joannes Blaeu	3
	Daniel Elzevier	2
	Simon Opmeer	2
	Abraham Wolfganck	2
	Cornelius de Bock	1
	Matthias Coppenol	1

(Continued)

Table 3. (*Cont.*)

City	Printers Booksellers	Number of listings
Leiden	Joannes Opmeer	1
	Frederik Schulerus	1
	Jan Janson van Waesberge and Widow Weijerstraet	1
	2	2
	Bonaventura Elzevier	1
Utrecht	Cornelius Hackius	1
	1	1
	Arnold van den Eynden	1
's-Hertogenbosch	2	3
	Jan Scheffer	1
	Jan van Turnhout	2
Madrid	2	2
	Florian Anisson	1
	Livinus and Antonius	1
	Palynck (merchants)	
Bilbao	1	2
	Petrus and Joannes	2
	Baptista de Vos	
Lisbon	6	43
	Henricus de Moor (merchant)	17
	Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (merchant)	14
	Jacomo Tasse (dealer)	7
	Juan de la Coste	3
	Jacobus Sevarts	1
	Petrus and Jacobus Stalpar (merchants?)	1
Lille	2	7
	Nicolas de Rache	5
	Ignace de Rache	2
Saint-Omer	2	5
	Pierre II Geubels	3
	Thomas Geubels	2

City	Printers Booksellers	Number of listings
Paris	7	26
	François Manzel (agent)	11
	Antoine Bertier	6
	Sebastien Mabre Cramoisy	3
	Edme II Martin	2
	Delaistre	2
	Claude Josse	1
	Sebastien Nivelles	1
Geneva	4	9
	Samuel Chouet	5
	Leonard Chouet	2
	J.A. and Samuel de Tournes	1
	Philippus Gamonetus	1
Lyon	8	101
	Laurent Anisson	19
	Jean Antoine Huguetan	19
	Horace Boissat	15
	Philippe Borde	14
	Laurent Arnaud	13
	Guillaume Barbier	13
	Georges Remeus	6
	P. Chevalier	2
Bordeaux	1	2
	Guillaume de la Court	2
Frankfurt	5	30
	Joannes Baptista	16
	Schönwetter (also in Mainz)	
	Widow Joannes Baptista	4
	Schönwetter	
	Jan Arnold Cholinus (also in Mainz)	7
	Johan Peter Zubrod	2
	Johann Beyer	1
Liège	1	6
	Jean Mathias Hovius	6

(Continued)

Table 3. (*Cont.*)

City	Printers Booksellers	Number of listings
Cologne	8	38
	Joannes Guilielmus Friessen	11
	Jan Antoon Kincker	8
	Widow John Buseus	6
	Herman Demen	5
	Antoon and Arnold Hierat	4
	Johan Gymnicus	2
	Arnold Cholinus	1
	Michiel Demen	1

Antwerp may have occupied this position only in the course of time. Before 1500, only a few works by Spanish authors had been printed in Antwerp, including *De salute animae* (Govaert Bac, 1493–1495) by the theologian Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468). The intellectual movement would not intensify until after the political conflicts between the Netherlands and Spain. Several Spanish scholars took advantage of their time in the Netherlands by publishing their works there. Examples include the humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492/1493–1540) and the Franciscan Francisco de Osuna (1497–ca 1542).<sup>24</sup>

The most prosperous period with regard to the production of Spanish works in Antwerp took place between 1541 and 1559, borne largely by the Steelsius and Nutius firms.<sup>25</sup> Both companies brought several dozen Latin editions of works by Spanish authors to the market, although they devoted themselves primarily to issuing texts in Spanish. Beginning in 1539, Joannes Steelsius of Limburg (c. 1500–1562) had at least 62 Spanish-language books printed. The production of Martin Nutius (ca. 1515–1558) was even more

<sup>24</sup> Robben, 'Jan Poelman,' 12–14.

<sup>25</sup> For example, see: Jean F. Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*. (Nieuwkoop: Hes & De Graaf, 1965); Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des 15e en 16e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: Hes & De Graaf, 1975), 208–209 (Steelsius) and 161–162 (Nutius).



impressive. After a long residence in Spain, he was apprenticed to Steelsius. He started printing for himself in 1540. During his twenty-year career as a printer, 151 Spanish books were published under his name.<sup>26</sup> It is known that Nutius employed a Spanish translator and proofreader (Juan Martin Cordero).

The remarkable proliferation of Spanish-language publications in the Antwerp of the mid-sixteenth century has already been duly addressed within the field of historiography. It is nevertheless difficult to explain. The bold nature of the Steelsius and Nutius collections surely played a role. Most of their publications dealt with current religious, intellectual and political topics—issues that local Spanish publishers rarely dared to touch, due to pressure from the Inquisition, which reached a peak in 1559. In that year, the great Spanish Index of forbidden books appeared, compiled by Grand Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés (1483–1568). Virtually the entire collection of Spanish-language religious books held by Nutius and Steelsius appeared on the list. Although secular literature was not immediately targeted, from then on, customs officials viewed every Spanish-language work from abroad with suspicion. For this reason, the production of Spanish-language works in the Netherlands all but ceased after 1559.<sup>27</sup>

Printers from the Southern Netherlands continued to have a significant influence on the Spanish market, however, even after 1559. This was primarily due to the work of Christophe Plantin and his successors, the Moretus family. In the turbulent 1560s, Plantin managed to secure the support of Philip II in order to publish the Polyglot Bible between 1568 and 1572. This Bible had appeared under the auspices of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), a confidant of the king. The Polyglot Bible or *Biblia Regia* is still considered one of the greatest typographic achievements in the world. For the company itself, however, the prestigious project was important primarily as a way of presenting itself as an orthodox Catholic publishing house, thereby eliminating all suspicion of Protestantism. Because of this successful change in image, Plantin secured a monopoly on the printing of liturgical works.<sup>28</sup> At the Council of Trent (1545–1563), a decision was made to publish a new breviary and missal. In order to ensure the orthodoxy

<sup>26</sup> B.A. Vermaseren, 'De Spaanse uitgaven op godsdienstig gebied van M. Nutius en J. Steelsius. Een voorlopige oriëntatie,' *De Gulden Passer*, 50 (1972): 27.

<sup>27</sup> Vermaseren, 'De Spaanse uitgaven,' 68.

<sup>28</sup> Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. 1, 65 and vol. 2, 266.

and the correctness of the texts, only a few printers were authorised to print these books. Christophe Plantin was granted exclusive rights for the Netherlands and the Spanish Empire. Beginning in 1571, thousands of liturgical works left Antwerp for Madrid; from there, they were distributed throughout the Iberian Peninsula and the colonies overseas. This monopoly was at the root of the prosperity of the Officina Plantiniana for the generations that followed. After the death of Plantin, the Moretus family devoted increasing attention to it and, in the mid-seventeenth century, the Plantin presses stopped producing anything but liturgical materials.<sup>29</sup>

With the exception of the activities of the Moretus family, very little is known about the book trade between the Southern Netherlands and Spain (and its colonies) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> It is generally assumed that the prosperous period of the sixteenth century had come to a definitive end and that Antwerp had lost its prominent role to Brussels, where the Mommaert, Velpius and Foppens families became increasingly dedicated to printing Spanish-language publications. The latter family proved particularly active: between 1655 and 1730, Franciscus I and Franciscus II Foppens brought around seventy Spanish books to the market, almost half of the entire production of Spanish books in Brussels.<sup>31</sup> Antwerp's continued importance as a centre of Spanish-language works is due entirely to the Verdussens. Analysis of their collection has already revealed that Spanish-language publications constituted more than 12% of the total production of the third-generation Verdussens, who were contemporaries and privileged commercial partners of the Foppens family in Brussels. According to a study by Van den Bergh, the importance of the Spanish-language publications increased in the eighteenth century, when the Verdussens were responsible for 65 of the 200 Spanish-language publications that appeared throughout the Southern Netherlands.<sup>32</sup> As discussed later in this chapter, most of the publications intended for the Iberian Peninsula and its colonies were not published in Spanish but in Latin.

<sup>29</sup> Leon Voet, 'Christoffel Plantijn en het Iberische schiereiland' in *Christoffel Plantijn en de Iberische wereld* (Exhibition catalogue, Museum Plantin-Moretus, 3 October-31 December 1992) (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus 1992), 77.

<sup>30</sup> Jan Materné, 'Ex Officina Plantiniana. Antwerpse katholieke kerkdrukken op de Iberisch-Amerikaanse boekenmarkt' in *Vlaanderen en Latijns-Amerika: 500 jaar confrontatie en métissage*, eds. Eddy Stols en Rudi Bleys (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1993), 139-153.

<sup>31</sup> Dennis van den Bergh, *Spaanstalige boeken in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedrukt in de 16de, 17de en 18de eeuw* (Unpublished master's thesis, K.U.Leuven, 2003), 52-56.

<sup>32</sup> Van den Bergh, *Spaanstalige boeken*, 57-59.

The Verdussens' interest in the Spanish market had existed even before the emergence of the third generation. A symbolic connection had already existed between the Verdussens and the two largest predecessors in this field—the Nutius and Steelsius families. In 1606, Hieronymus I Verdussen purchased the print shop located in the house known as *Groot Bourgoignen* on Kammenstraat, which still belonged to Steelsius and his successors at that time.<sup>33</sup> In 1686, the publishing company formerly owned by Nutius came into the hands of the Verdussen family, when Joannes Baptista I opened his own printing company, *De Twee Ooievaars* (the Two Storks).<sup>34</sup> Several mid-sixteenth-century corbel pieces preserved from the Steelsius house bear images including portraits depicting Joannes and Franciscus Steelsius as booksellers. One possible explanation for the survival of these extremely rare decorative elements is that, long after the Steelsius family had left the book trade, the new owners of the print shop—the Verdussens—had allowed these decorations to remain in place, thus working for centuries under the watchful eye of their predecessors. The Verdussens were also actively involved as partners with the other player in the Spanish market and competitor of the Officina Plantiniana, the Van Keerberghen family.<sup>35</sup>

The Van Keerberghens were the only family that managed to pose a threat to the Officina Plantiniana's monopoly on printing liturgical materials. The doctoral thesis by Dirk Imhof provides a detailed discussion of how, with the support of the Pope and Archbishop Hovius, Joannes I van Keerberghen and Martinus Nutius managed to break the monopoly on

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<sup>33</sup> The house known as the *Groot Bourgoignen* (then known as *Schilt van Bourgoigne*) belonged to Joannes Steelsius and his successor Petrus I Bellerus. Thereafter, it was briefly owned by the Phalesius family, who changed the name to *De Rode Leeuw* (the Red Lion). In 1606, it was purchased by the Verdussens, who continued to reside there until the nineteenth century. Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, *De Gulden Leeuw* (the Golden Lion) was at the forefront of the printing industry. For example, see Frans Olthoff, *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen* (Antwerpen: J.-E. Buschmann 1891), 96; Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs*, 174, 209, 233–234.

<sup>34</sup> Until 1639, *De Twee Ooievaars* (The Two Storks) had been owned by Nutius, after which the property was sold to the printer François le Chien. In 1686, Joannes Baptista I Verdussen became the owner of the property. Until that time, Joannes Baptista had lived and worked in *De Gulden Leeuw* (Golden Lion), together with his brother Hieronymus III. For example, see: Frans Olthoff, *De boekdrukkers boekverkoopers en uitgevers*, 76–77; Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs*, 162.

<sup>35</sup> Stijn van Rossem, 'In compagnie! Samenwerkingsverbanden rond de familie Verdussen in de zeventiende eeuw' in *Boekgeschiedenis in het kwadraat: context en casus*, eds. Stijn van Rossem & Maartje De Wilde (Brussel: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2006), 79–96.

printing liturgical materials.<sup>36</sup> Van Keerberghen was able to strike a sensitive chord with the ecclesiastical authorities by referring to the inadequate supply of 'root ende swerte drucken' (red and black printed books),<sup>37</sup> which had been caused by the inadequate product range offered by the Officina Plantiniana, for which they charged excessive prices. Joannes Moretus devoted himself primarily to the production of high-quality but expensive spending, more than half of which he sold abroad. This forced the poorer church communities and the domestic market to acquire less expensive foreign editions.

When the son of Jan I, Jan II van Keerberghen, entered the printing trade in 1618, he hoped to increase the production of liturgical works even further. This brought him into direct competition with the son of Joannes I Moretus, Balthasar I. In this case, his partner was not Nutius but Hieronymus II Verdussen.<sup>38</sup> The partnership association *Societas Librorum Officii Ecclesiastici* (The Liturgical Book Company) was established for twelve years and consisted of four people in all. In contrast to his father, Joannes II van Keerberghen was not content to fill the gaps in the market. Together with Verdussen, he also attacked Balthasar I Moretus on his own territory: the trade with Spain and its colonies, which had been renewed at the end of the mastership of Joannes I Moretus.<sup>39</sup>

Van Keerberghen's emigration to Seville illustrates the market that Van Keerberghen and Verdussen had in mind for their company. Seville was Spain's most important commercial city and the base for trade with the colonies. A letter that Van Keerberghen wrote to Verdussen in 1633 shows that one of the objectives of Van Keerberghen's branch was to sell the company's products in Spain. Van Keerberghen asked Verdussen to send several examples of their liturgical works to serve as a sample of what they could do. He added, 'In this country, the clergy prefers to see a sample before making a purchase'.<sup>40</sup>

Van Keerberghen's risky entrepreneurship was ultimately unsuccessful. The extent to which this failure was due to opposition from the Officina

<sup>36</sup> Dirk Imhof, *De Officina Plantiniana ratione recta: Jan I Moretus als uitgever te Antwerpen 1589–1610* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Universiteit Antwerpen, 2008).

<sup>37</sup> The term 'root ende swerte drucken' appears in several documents, including the contract between Jan II van Keerberghen and Hieronymus II Verdussen involving the establishment of the company for printing liturgical works (CAA, Notariaat 472 (Michiel van Cauwenberghe, 1618), fol. 117r–119v).

<sup>38</sup> Van Rossem, 'In compagnie,' 88–90.

<sup>39</sup> Dirk Imhof, 'François Bellet en Jan I Moretus: een verhaal van vertrouwen en mistrouwen,' *De Gulden Passer* 88/2 (2010): 71–91.

<sup>40</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 160/4.

Plantiniana is unclear. In the 1620s, Balthasar I Moretus had done everything in his power to nullify the Van Keerberghen family's publication rights. This proved more difficult than expected, given that the latter had the support of both the Pope and Archbishop Jacob Boonen (installed in 1620).<sup>41</sup> Balthasar I Moretus did succeed in having the use of the imprint '*ex societate Librorum Officii Ecclesiastici*' prohibited (1626–1627), although this had little effect: a *Pastorale* and a missal bearing the forbidden imprint appeared even as late as 1633.<sup>42</sup>

Regardless of whether it could be attributed to the efforts of the Moretus family, Van Keerberghen and Verdussen apparently had difficulty selling their liturgical materials. When the twelve-year partnership ended in 1629, Van Keerberghen was unable to repay Verdussen,<sup>43</sup> who therefore appropriated the presses that Van Keerberghen had brought into the company. Jan II van Keerberghen died a few years later in Seville, the last of the ambitious generation of printers that had tried to rival the mighty Officina Plantiniana. For their part, the Verdussens emerged all the stronger from the adventure, but they had learned their lesson. An attack on the international trade of the Moretus empire was tantamount to financial suicide.

### *The Hunt for Books for the Iberian Market*

With Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I Verdussen, the third generation took the helm of the company. They were able to build upon the achievements of their father and grandfather, and they inherited a well-developed print shop and book trade, which were amongst the largest in the Southern Netherlands. Although the deteriorated economic situation forced the two brothers to form a partnership, the period during which they ran the company (1653–1671) may have been the most successful in the history of the print shop. This success was not because they took the company to unprecedented heights, but because they were able to steer it through extremely turbulent economic waters as a highly skilled crew.

Under their leadership, the Iberian market became the spearhead of their book trade. The re-orientation of the book distribution obviously required revisions in the product range, beginning with the company's own publications. Although Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I brought

<sup>41</sup> Alphonse Goovaerts, *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas* (Amsterdam: Knuf, 1963), 83–84.

<sup>42</sup> MPM, Record No. 157, *Missale et Breviarum: procès*, fol. 41.

<sup>43</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 97, Act dated 29 December 1629.

fewer works to the market, the books that they did offer were larger and more substantial.<sup>44</sup> The average number of pages in a Verdussen publication quadrupled during the first decade of the third generation (increasing from only 105 pages per publication in the period 1641–1650 to 423 pages per publication in the years 1651–1660). In the second half of the seventeenth century, the folio format was the most common for Verdussen publications (increasing from 23% in 1641–1650 to 60% in 1681–1690). They also published works in international languages (primarily Latin, but also Spanish). Beginning in the 1640s, they published more works in Latin than they did in Dutch. The share of Latin continued to increase each decade, reaching 66% in the period 1681–1690. In that decade, the Verdussens even published more works in Spanish than they did in Dutch.<sup>45</sup>

The Verdussens also used other strategies to customise their range of products to suit the Iberian market. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the production of Spanish-language literature was dominated by printers from Brussels, including the Foppens, Velpius, Vivien and Mommaert families.<sup>46</sup> In the late 1660s, the companies of Balthasar Vivien and Joannes II Mommaert were sold publicly. Together with Franciscus I Foppens, the Verdussens managed to acquire the greatest share of their stock, along with the associated publication rights.<sup>47</sup> For the Verdussens, this transaction served as an incentive to include Spanish-language works in their own collection. In 1669, they published the collected works of Baltasar Gracián and,<sup>48</sup> a year later, *Don Quixote* by Cervantes.<sup>49</sup> The Verdussens had assumed the stock and the publication rights for *Don Quixote* from the heirs of Joannes II Mommaert, who had published another edition in 1662. After Hieronymus and Joannes Baptista Verdussen had sold the remaining copies of Mommaert's edition of *Don Quixote*

<sup>44</sup> Van Rossem, 'The Bookshop of the Counter-Reformation revisited,' 110–111.

<sup>45</sup> These numbers are based on my Ph.D. research, the results of which will be published in the near future.

<sup>46</sup> Van den Bergh, *Spaanstalige boeken*, 52.

<sup>47</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, letter No. XXXI (widow Vivien) and letter No. XXXIII (Mommaert).

<sup>48</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, No. 512: *Obras de Lorenzo Gracián*, En Amberes, en Casa de Geronimo y Juanbautista Verdussen, 1669.

<sup>49</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, No. 230: *Vida y hechos del Ingenioso Cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha, compuesta por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, En Amberes. En Casa de Geronimo y Juan-bautista Verdussen, 1670. A year later, this edition was pirated by the Lyon bookseller Boissat, bearing the imprint 'En Bruselas [i.e. Lyon]: a costa de Pedro de la Calle [i.e. Horace Boissat]', 1671. See also: J.F. Peeters-Fontainas, 'Le "Don Quixote" daté de Bruxelles, Pedro de la Calle, 1671' reprinted from: *Arquivo the Bibliografia Portuguesa* 3/13–14 (1958).

under their own name (using an imprint from 1670), they introduced a new edition on the market two years later.<sup>50</sup> They did the same with the plays of Don Miguel de Barrios (ca. 1625–1701). In 1665, his *Flor de Apolo* was still being published by Balthasar Vivien.<sup>51</sup> His widow liquidated the stock after his death in 1669. In 1674, the Verdussens affixed a new title page to Vivien's remaining copies and sold the work under their own name.<sup>52</sup>

The Verdussen-Foppens team thus also crowned itself as the heir of the 'Spanish' printers of Brussels. The Spanish-language publications offered a partial response to the demand for Spanish best-sellers in Western Europe. Verdussen tried to sell his Spanish-language publications to such parties as Joannes Blaeu.<sup>53</sup> Most of the Spanish publications, however, were intended for the Iberian market. For example, the Madrid bookseller Florian Anisson placed large orders with Verdussen. In anticipation of the new edition of *Don Quixote*—the first Verdussen publication (as previously noted, a title edition of Mommaert's *Don Quixote*) was completely exhausted in 1672 – Verdussen offered Anisson a discount if he would order 100 or more copies of the new edition that was to be released in 1673.<sup>54</sup>

Several years later, Verdussen and Foppens also acquired the Officina Plantiniana's '*libri nigri*' collection. This term refers to the publisher's scientific collection. These 'black books' included scientific and medical publications, ancient literature or historical descriptions, in contrast to the red-and-black books or liturgical materials. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Officina, which had specialised in this type of printing for decades, sought to devote its efforts exclusively to the sale of liturgical materials intended for the Spanish market, the '*nuevo rezado*' ('new liturgical books'). In 1677, they sold their *black books* to Verdussen and Foppens for 21.000 guilders. Although the list of titles is not known, it

<sup>50</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, No. 232.

<sup>51</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, No. 97: *Flor de Apolo, dirigida al ilustrísimo señor don Antonio Fernández de Córdoba*, En Bruselas, de la imprenta de Baltazar Vivien, impresor y mercader de libros, 1665.

<sup>52</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, nr. XXXI; Peeters-Fontainas *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, No. 100: *Las poesias famosas, y comedias [...] segunda impression*, En Amberes, en casa de Geronymo y Iuanb. Verdussen, 1674. This was a title edition from No. 97.

<sup>53</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, Letters XCIII (29 October 1671) and CLXII (25 April 1672).

<sup>54</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, Letter CXXI (9 February 1672).

is clear that it involved an enormous quantity of books, as evidenced by comparing this sum to the total worth of Hieronymus III Verdussen's printing business (including books, letters, paper and printing presses), which was estimated at 81.695 guilders after his death.<sup>55</sup> In one sense, this sale allowed the Verdussens to present themselves as the heirs to the editorial tradition of the *Officina Plantiniana*, and they began searching the European and American markets for new purchasers for works that had originally been published by Plantin. In many cases, these works were no longer sold with the *Officina's* original imprint, but with the mark of the Verdussens and a new date.

In 1677 (the year of the sale), a new 'edition' of the *Vera concilii Tridentini historia* by Pietro Sforza Pallavicino appeared, published by Verdussen, as noted in the imprint '*typis Plantinianis: prostant apud Hieronymum Verdussen*'.<sup>56</sup> This was a title edition of the 1670 publication by Balthasar II Moretus.<sup>57</sup> The Verdussens, however, had already sold *Officina* editions under their own name before this date. *De doctrina temporum commentarius in Victorium Aquitanum* was published in 1633 by Balthasar I Moretus,<sup>58</sup> and it was re-introduced to the market in 1663 as a title edition bearing the imprint of Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I Verdussen.<sup>59</sup> The Verdussens already felt strong enough to sell *Plantiniana* under their own name, and no longer found it necessary to use Plantin's name as a quality brand.

In composing their international collection, the Verdussens worked closely with the Brussels bookseller Franciscus Foppens. In addition to the joint purchase of stock from other printers, they regularly traded books amongst themselves. For example, they signed contracts regarding the terms upon which they could take over works from each other's collections.<sup>60</sup> On 17 September 1674, Franciscus I Foppens and Hieronymus III Verdussen entered into a contract concerning the exchange of books. In exchange for 27 of Foppens' works by Quevedo, Verdussen agreed to deliver 50 copies of *Opera omnia* by Franciscus Zypaeus. This was probably

<sup>55</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 160/5, document dated 15 June 1689.

<sup>56</sup> Copy in: Centro Superior de Estudios Teológicos. Seminario Mayor de León, FA.1766: 'Printed by the *Officina Plantiniana*, sold by Hieronymus Verdussen'.

<sup>57</sup> STCV, c:stcv:6607648.

<sup>58</sup> STCV, c:stcv:6667622.

<sup>59</sup> A copy of this title edition is located in the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Madrid. Because we have not actually seen this copy, it is not included in the reconstruction of the collection.

<sup>60</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 97.



an advance purchase of the work by Zypaeus, which Hieronymus III and Joannes Baptista I Verdussen were to bring on the market in 1675.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to acquiring interesting stocks of books, the Verdussens tried to use their international network to gain possession of interesting works for the Iberian market. The Verdussens thus did not use their contacts with booksellers in the Republic, Germany and France in order to import books on a large scale, as did their Spanish and Portuguese commercial partners or the booksellers from smaller regional centres in the Netherlands. By exchanging books with colleagues (e.g. the Chouets in Geneva, the Anissons in Lyon, the Schönwettters in Frankfurt and the Blaeus in Amsterdam), the Verdussens tried to take possession of a range of books that would be as interesting as possible. In this regard, they stated that they were explicitly searching for books that were wanted in Spain and Portugal.<sup>62</sup>

In this respect, the Verdussens were primarily interested in books that would do well in the Spanish market. For example, in 1669, they did everything in their power to acquire a large supply of copies of *Clypeus theologiae thomisticae contra novos ejus impugnatores* by the French theologian Jean-Baptiste Gonet (ca. 1616–1681). This neo-Thomistic work on the morality of human action was directed against the new Jansenist doctrines, and it had previously been published by Guillaume de la Court (1659–1663) in Bordeaux. Hieronymus III Verdussen, who had plans to distribute this orthodox Catholic best-seller in the Iberian countries, had heard that the Paris publisher Antoine Bertier was printing a new edition of the work.<sup>63</sup> He was therefore eager to try to acquire copies from him. In order to persuade Bertier to do this, Verdussen reported that he had heard about plans to copy *Clypeus* in the Netherlands. Bertier could overtake the forger by sending fifty copies to Verdussen as soon as possible, which he would then distribute on the local market, in order that '*la personne qui at intencion de copier les dit livre changerat bien d'intencion, lorsqu'il voijrat qui nous envoijerés icij en abondance en change*'.<sup>64</sup> When

<sup>61</sup> The Quevedo edition was most likely the *Obras* that Foppens had re-issued in 1660–1670 (incomplete copy in STCV, c:stcv:12886495). The Zypaeus edition: *Opera Omnia*, Antwerp: Hieronymus III & Joannes Baptista I Verdussen, 1675.

<sup>62</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, volume 1, III.

<sup>63</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, XXIII–XXVIII. In 1669, the work would appear on the market with the title *Clypeus theologiae thomisticae, autore P. F. Joanne Baptista Gonet [...] Editio 3a, caeteris correctior et tractatibus aliquot ac disputationibus atque insignioribus et selectioribus Scripturae et SS. Patrum testimoniis auctior*, Parijs: sumptibus A. Bertier, 1669 (5 volumes in-fol.).

<sup>64</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, letter No. XXV.

Bertier was not willing to accept this proposal, it was revealed that Verdussen himself was behind the plan. In a letter dated 9 December 1669, they encouraged Johann Baptist Schönwetter from Frankfurt to print the book as soon as possible, so that they could overtake Bertier through speed. Verdussen was prepared to acquire large quantities of *Clypeus*, in exchange for books from his own collection. Hieronymus III Verdussen made it clear to Schönwetter that he would be doing him a great favour. He would have gladly printed the work himself, but had no time because all his presses were occupied. Because Schönwetter did not respond immediately, Verdussen tried again in vain to approach Bertier (12 December 1669), and later Guillaume de la Court from Bordeaux (16 July 1670). When it became clear that Schönwetter had decided not to print the new edition, the Verdussens considered the possibility of printing the work themselves. They eventually managed to persuade a printer in Cologne, Johann Wilhelm II Friessem (1646–1700), to print the work (11 December 1670), and Friessem assured them that they would be able to purchase an unlimited number of copies. This work finally appeared on the market in 1671.<sup>65</sup>

Verdussen's focus on the Iberian markets brought him into the territory of Lyon's major firms, including Boissat, Huguetan, Anisson and Posuel. The preserved correspondence of the Verdussen brothers between 1669 and 1672 has already revealed that the Verdussens had more commercial contacts in Lyon than they had in any other city. The frequency of this correspondence is probably due in part to the lack of a legal framework within the international book trade. Given that the Verdussen's collection was not protected in France and, conversely, that the books of the Lyon firms could be reproduced in Antwerp without problems, mutual mediation was the only way in which to discourage the parties from causing major economic damage to each other. The negotiations between the two parties always turned on a single issue: access to each other's range of products. Both parties wanted to be able to obtain sufficient copies of the appropriate titles in order to be able to sell them within their own networks. Whenever a coveted title was refused to Verdussen or a bookseller in Lyon, the disadvantaged party would threaten to reproduce the work in question, in an attempt to bring the reluctant printer to reason. Copying (or threatening to copy) each other's bestsellers was also a common strategy amongst booksellers, and it was not condemned under certain conditions

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<sup>65</sup> Jean-Baptiste Gonet, *Clypeus theologiae thomisticae*, Coloniae Agrippinae: sumptibus Joannes Wilhelmi Friessem junioris, 1671.

(e.g. if a bookseller was unwilling to deliver a particular title or charged an excessive price for it).<sup>66</sup>

In 1669, Verdussen attempted to persuade Huguetan and Barbier from Lyon not to reproduce the Bible Commentary by Jacob Tirinus from 1668.<sup>67</sup> In exchange, he would send as many copies as needed to Lyon on favourable terms.<sup>68</sup> In 1670, Hieronymus III advised Barbier and Huguetan from Lyon to send him several dozen copies of the *Opus Morale* (Lyon 1669) by the Jesuit Fernando de Castro Palao immediately. In order to reinforce his request, he added subtly added:

Vous ferez tres bien de bien envoyer quelque bon nombre de vos Castro Palao en ces quartiers, car par faute de cela, il courera grand péril d'estre copié, ou icij ou a Cologne, ou Franckfort, ce que vous serve d'avis [...] mais il ne le faut pas mettre plus haute que 30 ou 32 florins en pris.<sup>69</sup>

The Verdussens used the same strategy when they heard that Nicolas de Rache in Lille was planning to publish the *Medulla Theologiae* by Busenbaum at the same time that they had hoped to undertake a new edition. Matthias Hovius in Liège was also approached in this manner. He wanted to produce a cheap pirated edition of their *Graduale* and Foppens' *Antiphonarium*. The Verdussens tried to appeal to Hovius' sense of honour by pointing out that they had already bought the paper and hired scientists in order to implement improvements. Although they were well aware that they had no legal standing, they were requesting a favour, which they would be happy to return.

Et puis nous vous ne pouvons defendre cela par nos privileges, ne estant subject à icelles, demeurant dedans un païs neutre et indepent de nous, nous vous donnerons occasions pour vous le empescher par amitiés et nous vous en accomoderons quelque nombre de nos Graduels [...] et vous en proposeraijc dedans deus propositions et pouvés l'accepter l'un ou l'autre celle que vous plaira affin que en soyés accommodé de nos Graduels en change de vos livres, sans estre subject à nous donner de l'argent pour contre.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> MPM, Record 298, Letter from Moretus to L. Anisson, 13 Jul. 1668, fol. 281v–282r.

<sup>67</sup> No copy of this edition has been found. Only editions from 1656 (Maurits Sabbe Library Leuven, 22.07/Fo TIRI Sacr) and 1688 (University Library Leuven, C610). Augustin De Backer, Carlos Sommervögel, e.a., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brussel: Editions de la bibliothèque S.J., 1960), vol. 8, p. 49 mentions of the 1668 edition.

<sup>68</sup> Sabbe *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, letter V.

<sup>69</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, Letter from Verdussen to Huguetan and Barbier), 11 Dec. 1670, vol. 1, 127/ 'It would be very wise to send a good number of your Castro Palao to this territories, because if you fail to do this, their is a great risk that your book will be pirated, either here or in Köln, or in Frankfurt [...] but you should not ask more than 30 to 32 guilders for it.'

<sup>70</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, vol. 2, 120: 'Because we cannot defend our privileges, since you, as a foreigner, are not subject to them, we give you the

Hovius would thus be able to acquire Verdussen's liturgical works under favourable conditions. The quotation clearly shows that the system of exchanging books offered advantages over paying for books in cash. Regardless of how well informed the Verdussens were about what had been printed or what was threatened to be printed on the presses of the major European Counter-Reformation printers, the brokerage did not work in some cases, or they were too late. In 1672, the Madrid bookseller Florian Anisson warned the Verdussens that Boissat in Lyon had not only pirated their illustrated version of *Don Quixote*, but had sold the

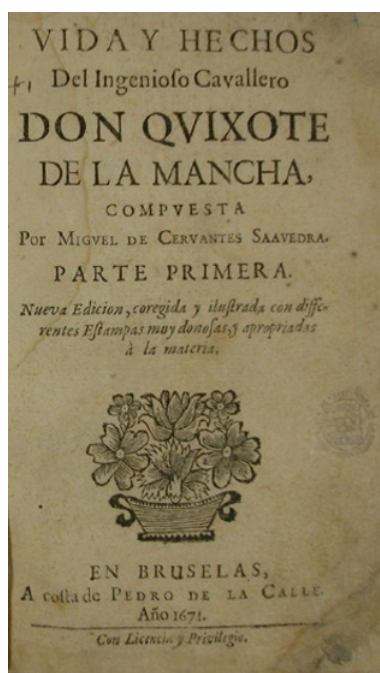


Fig. 2. The Lyonese bookseller Horace Boissat printed this *Don Quichote* edition under the fictitious imprint 'Bruselas, Pedro de la Calle' in 1671, at the same time as the Verdussen brothers were preparing a new edition of the 'official' Netherlandish *Quichote*, to appear in 1672. Verdussen had bought the rights on the famous Joannes II Mommaert edition in 1669.<sup>71</sup> (source: [bib.cervantesvirtual.com](http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com)).

chance to find a friendly solution, namely that we offer you a number of our Gradual [...] this in exchange of some of your books, so that you would not even have to pay in cash.'

<sup>71</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, No. 232.

work under a fictitious imprint, which was much more troubling to the Verdussens.

Even though piracy was an accepted strategy for addressing a lack of supply on the international market, there were strict, unwritten rules. The reaction of the Verdussens was therefore furious:

Lors que voulez imprimer nos copies, cela nous ne pouvons defendre nij vous a faire les vostres, mais mettez alors vostre nom dessus, comme nous faisons icij, alors les gens ne sont trompez ni abusé, comme vous faites maintenant avec vostre don quixote [...] on nous escrit que les vendez a Madrid a la rame, pour nous dommager et interesser encor d'avantage, en quoj vous avez faict tresgrand tort.<sup>72</sup>

In order to recoup their financial losses, the Verdussens decided to pirate a bestseller from Boissat's collection: the commentary on the Epistle of James by Ignatius Zuleta.<sup>73</sup>

nous avons esté obligé de imprimer icij le dit Zuleta, pour prendre revenge du damage que nous avez faict a imprimer nostre don quixote de la mancha con estampas.<sup>74</sup>

Verdussen considered his action legitimate revenge, as he had not lowered himself to publishing his reproduction of Zuleta under a fictitious imprint. The speed with which Verdussen took his revenge was impressive. The 260-page work was introduced on the market in the same year. Nevertheless, such hostile language was exceptional. Most cases did not go beyond threats and, in the end, common sense usually prevailed in the end. On 21 June 1680, Verdussen entered a pact with the Lyon booksellers Anisson and Posuel in Antwerp.<sup>75</sup> This agreement was brokered by Franciscus Foppens and Franciscus de Swarte, a merchant with Dutch roots from Seville. Both parties agreed not to reproduce each other's works and promised to provide each other with sufficient copies. Any breach of the agreement would incur the heavy fine of 3,000 guilders. In the

<sup>72</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, vol. 1, 70: 'We cannot prohibit that you want to print our books, but please put your own name on the book, like we do here. This way, the public is not mistaken or misled, like you did with your Quixote [...] we have been told that you are selling them by the ream in Madrid, and by damaging our name like this, you have made a big mistake.'

<sup>73</sup> *Jacobus, seu Commentaria litteralia et moralia in Epistolam catholicam S. Iacobi apostolicam*, Antwerp: Hieronymus III & Joannes Baptista I Verdussen, 1672.

<sup>74</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, vol. 1, 70: 'We have no choice but to print your Zuleta, to revenge the damage that you have done to us by printing our illustrated Don Quixote.'

<sup>75</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 97, letter dated 21 June 1680.

contract, the rights to titles were divided amongst the parties. Verdussen could print the *Castillo de vestibus Aaronis* and the *Bibliotheca aurea* if he made one hundred copies available to Anisson and his company. In exchange, Verdussen relinquished his rights to the Sylveira's nine-volume Bible commentary, and Anisson could assume the remaining stock of the sixth volume of the work (which Verdussen had printed in 1676).<sup>76</sup> In addition, Anisson promised Verdussen that he would deliver at least three to four bales of books each year, in order to avoid '*toute sorte de mecontentement*' ('all sorts of discontent'). In other words, international booksellers such as Anisson and Verdussen were not only strong rivals; they were also dependent upon each other. Although both printers wanted to bring the same titles to the market, the market was apparently not large enough for them both to publish the same titles. In the absence of legal protection, a good mutual understanding was necessary in order to protect the rights to distribute certain works. The investment costs for the Counter-Reformation best-sellers (which were often printed in folio format) were very high, and the printers needed each other in order to sell these expensive publications.

### *Transport: Routes and Intermediaries*

The Verdussens regularly sent packages of books to Spain and Portugal. The archives contain evidence of about thirty transports in the period 1664–1674. It is difficult to estimate how complete this list is. We can count seven transports per year for the period 1669–1672, for which the correspondence that has been preserved provides the most complete picture. Most of the shipments took place in the summer, although the Verdussens sent books to Spain or Portugal in just about every season. Underlying the operation was an extensive network of transporters, merchants, acquaintances and relatives. It is striking that the commercial activities on the Iberian market, unlike the trade with France and Germany (where business was conducted exclusively with fellow booksellers), took place almost entirely outside the book-selling circuit. The books were first transported through inland waterways to the North Sea ports. Depending upon the circumstances and destination, the books then proceeded to Ostend, Middelburg or Rotterdam, where they were loaded onto a ship by a regular agent. The agent in Ostend was Anthoni Domicent; in Rotterdam, it was

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<sup>76</sup> *Commentariorum in textum evangelicum, tomus sextus seu Additiones in quatuor euangelistas*, Antwerp: Hieronymus III, 1676.

Jan van der Meulen and in Middelburg, it was Jacomo Tasse, a merchant and brother-in-law of Hieronymus III Verdussen. The Verdussens were terrified that something would happen to their books, emphasising to their contacts that the books '*noch onder op t'vrack van t'scip [te] laden dan wel [te] wachten tot dat het scip sijn halve ofte meer ladinghe heeft om een goede plaetse in 't scip te hebben [...]* alsoo onse boecken gans tegen geene natigheijt en mogen.' (not to put the books on the bottom of the ship's hold, but to wait until the ship is half full or more before loading the books, in order to prevent our books from getting wet).<sup>77</sup> In contrast to the agents, there is no evidence of regularity in the choice of captains. Only once does the name of a ship captain appear twice. As for the places of departure, there were three main destinations: Bilbao, Cadiz and, especially, Lisbon. There were no fixed routes, even though the Verdussens often shipped books destined for Lisbon from Rotterdam, and they usually sent those destined for Bilbao from Ostend. For the Verdussens, Middelburg was a multi-purpose port, as the ships departed from there to all destinations (see Table 4).

With few exceptions, the Verdussens cooperated with merchants and trading companies led by expatriates of the Netherlands for their commercial activities in the Iberian world. In Lisbon, this was the company of Henricus (Henrique) de Moor and Joannes Franciscus (Juan Francisco) Senoutsen.<sup>78</sup> In Bilbao, all books were purchased by Petrus (Pedro) and Joannes Baptista De Vos or by Petrus (Pedro) and Gaspar Hoverlant. In Cadiz, the Verdussens had an agreement with Joannes (Juan) vander Plassen and Company. Unfortunately, the contents of the '*packen en casen*' of books that were shipped are not specified anywhere.<sup>79</sup> It does appear, however, that a large portion of the books were bound together for shipment. On 24 May 1672, three bales were shipped to Lisbon from Ostend. One bale containing unbound books was destined for the

<sup>77</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, letter CLXV (24 May 1672).

<sup>78</sup> In Lisbon, De Moor and Senoutsen were the commercial partners for the Portuguese connection. The same family of merchants also maintained commercial partnerships with other families, including the Schilders family from Antwerp. See Dorrit van Camp, 'Onbekend maakt onbemind. Het archief van verwanten van de familie Moretus, in het bijzonder de familie Schilders,' *De Gulden Passer* 87/1 (2009): 74.

<sup>79</sup> Erik Breuls, 'Het boekentransport door de Officina Plantiniana in vroegmodern Europa' in *Hout in boeken, houten boeken en de fraaye konst van houtdraayen*, eds. Luc Knapen & Leo Kenis (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 133–134: A pack or bale was a common form of packaging in which goods were wrapped in skins, heavy and fine linen and/or sheets of paper. A case was a wooden chest about as big as a barrel. Canvas was stretched around the chest, with straw, paper and serpellière used as padding inside.

bookseller Juan de la Coste. The two bales for Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen consisted of bound books. The sale or exchange of unbound copies was common amongst booksellers, although the trading companies to which the Verdussens delivered apparently preferred ready-made luxury products, and thus bound copies.

In order to diversify the risk, Verdussen chose to make regular shipments of limited size—usually one or two bales, with a maximum of four at a time. The average value per bale or box was around 500 guilders, which was still a significant amount. With regard to the payment for the shipments, we have information only for the books sold by De Moor and Senoutsen, the primary suppliers for the Verdussens. Payment for these books took place at regular intervals (after every shipment) with a bill of exchange processed through the Amsterdam Stock Exchange. All shipments were insured against any loss of value. Beginning in the sixteenth century, it was customary in the Antwerp business world to take out insurance for transport by sea. Such insurance was not available for land transport.<sup>80</sup> At that time, the insurance industry was organised on a private basis. Particular cargo on a ship was divided amongst several investors, each of whom provided a certain percentage of the guarantee. True insurance companies would not emerge until the eighteenth century.<sup>81</sup> The cost of the insurance fluctuated greatly, ranging from 3% to 8% of the value.<sup>82</sup> These differences were probably associated with the risk of a particular shipment at a particular time. In August 1670, a premium of 3 % was charged for the route from Rotterdam to Lisbon. Two years later, in May 1672, the premium for the Ostend-Lisbon route was 8 %. In April 1672, Louis XIV invaded the Netherlands, with support from England. This year is consistently noted as the *Rampjaar* (the Disaster Year) in Dutch historiography. Nevertheless, trade was not brought to a standstill. Voet argues that the international trade of the Officina Plantiniana was impeded less by the many wars in the seventeenth century than it had been by the turbulence of the sixteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, Verdussen regularly inquired about the security of the ships to which he entrusted freight. He requested that his books be loaded only on ships that were accompanied by a military convoy. On 15 April 1672, he advised that the books he was

<sup>80</sup> Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, 438.

<sup>81</sup> Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, 439.

<sup>82</sup> These premiums correspond to the insurance that the Officina Plantiniana paid in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

<sup>83</sup> Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, 437.



Table 4. Overview of the Verdussens' book shipments to Spain and Portugal in the period 1660–1670, based on insurance policies and contracts concerning transport costs (Sources: SAA, Genealogisch Fonds 97; Sabbe *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, letters XXXVII, LXI, LXX, LXXIII, LXXXI, LXXXV, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII, XCV, CIV, CXXIX, CLXV, CXXX).

Date	Quantity	Departure	Arrival	Premium	Value in guilders	Freight costs	Intermediaries
11-Jul-62	3 packages	Middelburg	Bilbao	3.50%	1400		Anthoni Domicent (Ostend)
10-Jul-64	2 packages	Ostend	Cadiz	6%	900		Anthoni Domicent (Ostend)
27-Oct-64	1 case	Ostend	Cadiz	6.50%	500		and Joannes Vanderplassen and Simon Courado de Schot (Cadiz)
12-Sep-65	3 packages	Ostend	Bilbao	5.50%	900		Henricus de Moor (Lissabon)
03-Jul-69	1 case	Amsterdam/ Rotterdam?	Lisbon			5 crusados	Petrus and Gaspar Hoverlant Joannes Vanderplassen y comp.a
19-Oct-69	1 package	Ostend	Bilbao				Henricus de Moor (Lissabon)
28-Nov-69	2 packages	Ostend	Cadiz				Joannes Vanderplassen y comp.a
15-Dec-69	1 package	Middelburg	Lisbon				Henricus de Moor (Lissabon)
07-Jan-70	2 packages	Ostend	Cadiz				Joannes Vanderplassen y comp.a
26-Apr-70	1 package	Ostend	Bilbao				Petrus and Gaspar Hoverlant
03-Jun-70	1 case	Middelburg	Cadiz			9 crusados	Joannes Vanderplassen and Simon Courado de Schot

(Continued)

Table 4. (*Cont.*)

Date	Quantity	Departure	Arrival	Premium	Value in guilders	Freight costs	Intermediaries
11-Aug-70	4 packages	Rotterdam	Lisbon	3%	1200		2 packages to Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen
25-Aug-70	1 package	Ostend	Bilbao			3.5 ducats plata doble	Petrus and Gaspar Hoverlant
20-Sep-70	2 packages	Middelburg	Lisbon			15 ducats	Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (Lisbon)
24-Dec-70	1 package	Rotterdam	Lisbon			10 crusados	Jan van der Meulen (Rotterdam) and Henrico de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (Lisbon)
10-May-71	2 packages	Rotterdam	Lisbon			9 crusados	Joannes van der Meulen (Rotterdam) and Juan de la Coste, bookseller (Lisbon)
8-Aug-71	3 packages	Rotterdam	Lisbon			18 crusados	Joannes van der Meulen (Rotterdam) and Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (Lisbon)

24-Oct.-71	1 package	Rotterdam	Lisbon	5 crusados	Joannes van der Meulen (Rotterdam) Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (Lisbon)
12-Dec.-71	1 package	Rotterdam	Lisbon	5 crusados	Joannes van der Meulen (Rotterdam) and Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (Lisbon)
19-Feb.-72	1 package	Ostend	Bilbao	3.5 ducats plata doble	Anthoni Domicent (in Ostend) and Petrus and Joannes Baptista de Vós (Bilbao)
11-Feb.-72	1 package	Middelburg	Lisbon	12 crusados	Jacomo Tasse (Middelburg) Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen
24-May-72	3 packages	Ostend	Lisbon	1000	1 for Juan de la Coste and Jacob Sevaerts, librarians and 2 for Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen, traders

(Continued)

Table 4. (Cont.)

Date	Quantity	Departure	Arrival	Premium	Value in guilders	Freight costs	Intermediaries
1-Nov.-72	1 package	Middelburg	Lisbon			12 crusados	Jacomo Tasse (Middelburg) Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (Lisbon)
17-May-72	3 kasten	Ostend	Lisbon	8%	900		
10-Jul.-74	2 bales	Middelburg	San Sebastian	5%	720		
20-Jun.-74	1 package	Amsterdam	Lisbon			4 crusados (10 %)	Paulus Cloots (in Amsterdam) Henricus de Moor and Joannes Franciscus Senoutsen (in Lisbon)

shipping to books Cadiz and Lisbon be loaded on ships that would sail around England, given that France and Britain had declared war on the Republic.<sup>84</sup>

*Seville: Gateway to the Spanish Colonies*

The Verdussens used four ports for their commercial activities with the Iberian Peninsula. The northern ports, San Sebastian and primarily Bilbao, were used in order to reach the inland of Spain. For example, the orders for Florian Anisson in Madrid were sent to Bilbao.<sup>85</sup> The other ports (Lisbon and Cadiz) were the official gateways to the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, respectively. It is therefore likely that a large proportion of the books shipped to these ports eventually ended up in America or Asia. Because a reconstruction of the entire network of the Verdussens would be impossible within the scope of this research, only their network in Seville is examined further as a case study. The book transports were sent from ports in the Netherlands to the commercial company of Juan van de Plass (Joannes vander Plassen) in Cadiz. This company, however, provided only the final transport services. The books were actually intended for booksellers in Seville. The 1689 estate inventory mentions three booksellers by name: Leonardo Vercolme, Juan Salvador Perez and the widow of Juan de Yllanes. Little is known about Juan de Yllanes. The library of Samuel Pepys contained a work from 1670 that was printed at his expense.<sup>86</sup> He was probably not only a bookseller, but a general merchant as well. In 1682 a Juan de Yllanes brought silver from the colonies to Madrid through Seville for the Jesuit *Procurador General de las Indias*, Pedro de Espinar (who is discussed further later in this chapter).<sup>87</sup> In 1689, his widow owed 2598 guilders to Hieronymus III, which she refused to pay. Verdussen took this as a challenge, as the ability to collect was not guaranteed. Fortunately, Verdussen received help from Leonardo Vercolme, another commercial partner in Seville. Leonardo Vercolme was born in Bruges, the son of Nicolas Vercolme and Jacoba Hostens. Around 1680, he married Petronella Molante. When he prepared his will in 1699, Leonardo

<sup>84</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, letter CLX.

<sup>85</sup> Sabbe, *Briefwisseling van de gebroeders Verdussen*, Vol. 2, p. 58.

<sup>86</sup> C.S. Knighton, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge: Supplementary Series I: Census of Printed Books* (Catalogue of Pepys Library Supplementary Series, Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2004), 166.

<sup>87</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales, Oficio 4 2750*, fol. 32r.

had one son, Nicolaas, aged 11 years.<sup>88</sup> This Flemish expatriate was apparently willing to assist the heirs of his colleague from Brabant in their distress, as an attempt to recoup his money. In February 1690, the Verdussens stood before the Antwerp notary Joseph Vander Cruyssen in order to authorise Leonardo Vercolme to collect the money from the widow Yllanes, Salvadora Maria de Velasco, on their behalf. A notary in Seville confirmed this arrangement in April 1690.<sup>89</sup> Because the widow still was unwilling or unable to pay, Vercolme brought the case to court, having retained the services of the lawyer Gabriel de Morales in order to recover the debt plus costs. In July of the same year, Vercolme hired a second lawyer, Diego Pascual, to represent him in the royal and ecclesiastical courts.<sup>90</sup> It is not certain whether this last action was related to Verdussen's case against Yllane's widow, but such is certainly a possibility. Although the outcome of the case is not known, this incident shows that Verdussen was not powerless against foreign debtors Verdussen and that the solidarity existing amongst merchants from the Southern Netherlands played an important role in this regard.

Vercolme was established as a bookseller in Calle Genova, the street in which all of the major booksellers were located. He was probably one of the key figures in the import of printed materials from the Southern Netherlands to Seville. In 1684, a bale of books in his name arrived from Middelburg. A portion of the books appeared to have been affected by water damage and by the cheese that had been stacked near the books. The cheese had started to rot and had damaged the books.<sup>91</sup> Because Vercolme wished to establish a formal record of the loss of value, we know the titles that had been positioned too close to the rotting cheese. It is possible that Leonardo had ordered these books from Verdussen. Of the 54 titles mentioned in the document, 21 are also listed in the estate inventory of Hieronymus III Verdussen, which was prepared some years later.

Overall, the damages were apparently limited. The Sevillian booksellers Juan Salvador Perez and Bartolomé de Vargas estimated the damages at 380 guilders and 11 stuivers, with a total original value of 1071 guilders and 18 stuivers. Vercolme apparently did not send any books to the Indies under his own name, as his name does not appear anywhere in the *Casa de Contratación*, the government agency that controlled the exploration and trade to the *Indias*.

<sup>88</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 7 5153, fol. 630r.

<sup>89</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 7 5142, fol. 469r–469v.

<sup>90</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 7 5142, fol. 769r.

<sup>91</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 13027, fol. 1248r.

The key player in the intercontinental book trade from Seville was Juan Salvador Perez, who had helped Vercolme to record his damages and who was one of Verdussen's customers. Like Vercolme, Salvador Perez was a bookseller in Calle Genova. Although he specialised in the overseas book trade, he did much more than simply selling books. In the late seventeenth century, he had a timber company, together with his partner, Pedro Millan.<sup>92</sup> In official documents, Salvador Perez consistently referred to himself as a bookseller, although he was actually primarily an investor and lender in Seville and America. In Seville and its surroundings alone, he had made loans to individuals for a total exceeding 240.000 reales.<sup>93</sup>

He had very close relations with the Jesuit *Procurador General de las Indias Occidentales*. This office, which had been established in 1574, was responsible for all of the economic activities of the Jesuits in the colonies: from organising travel arrangements for the missionaries to providing all of the necessary supplies and equipment.<sup>94</sup> Salvador Perez often acted in the name of the *Procurador* in order to arrange financial matters for him in Seville and its surroundings (e.g. the rental of houses owned by the Jesuits).<sup>95</sup> Conversely, Perez used the Jesuits' network to effect payments on the other side of the world through bills of exchange. This indicates that the two parties trusted each other and treated each other as equals. Subsequent *Procuradores* also made frequent use of the services of Perez, and vice versa. The close relationship between Perez and the *Procurador de las Indias* is further confirmed in the will that Salvador Perez had drafted in 1689.<sup>96</sup> This document mentions four privileged commercial

<sup>92</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 13061, fol. 650r. The company existed between 1695 and 1699.

<sup>93</sup> Clara Palmiste, 'La compra de libros usados y de bibliotecas privadas en algunas librerías sevillanas, finales del siglo XVII y XVIII' in *La memoria de los libros: estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y America*, eds. Pedro M. Cátedra y María Luisa López-Vidriero (Salamanca: Cilengua. Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española. Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), vol. 2, 608.

<sup>94</sup> For information about the establishment, history and exact tasks of the *Procurador de las Indias*, see especially Agustín Galán García, *El oficio de Indias de los jesuitas en Sevilla 1566–1767* (Sevilla: Focus, 1995); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'La procuraduría de Indias de la Compañía de Jesús en Sevilla,' *Anuario de investigaciones. Hespérides* (1994): 55–68; Felix Zubillaga, 'El procurador de Indias Occidentales (1574). Etapas históricas de su erección' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 22 (1953): 367–417; Javier Burrieza Sánchez, *Jesuitas en Indias: entre la utopía y el conflicto: trabajos y misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en la América moderna* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2007).

<sup>95</sup> I have found at least four different examples of this in the archives of the Sevillian notaries. AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 2765, fol. 4 (1687); AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 2766, fol. 1497, November 1687; AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 13032, fol. 1003 (1686); AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 13045 (1691).

<sup>96</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 13041, fol. 268–274v.

partners. He first mentions the *Procurador* Pedro del Espinar, acknowledges their regular business dealings with each other and notes their ongoing accounts with each other. The second commercial partner to be mentioned is Juan Enrique Hesquetan, a merchant from Amsterdam. Perez acknowledges having an account with him for various unspecified merchandise. This undoubtedly refers to Jean Henri Huguetan, one of three Huguetan brothers, who were well-known *libraires* from Lyon, who were drawn to Amsterdam after the Edict of Nantes.<sup>97</sup> The third partner in the list is Hieronymus III Verdussen. Here again, Perez acknowledges having an ongoing account for various goods. It is therefore possible that Perez purchased more than books (e.g. paintings) through Verdussen.<sup>98</sup> The final privileged partner to be mentioned is Pedro Leon from Madrid. According to the will, Verdussen was thus one of the most important business partners of this international entrepreneur. The debtor list of 1689 indicates that Salvador Perez owed Hieronymus III a sum of 3005 guilders.

Juan Salvador Perez did not personally travel to the New World. As was common, he worked with specialised dealers who regularly sailed back and forth between Seville and the Spanish colonies. In the archives, we found six contracts from the 1680s relating to the transport of books to the New World (see Table 5). Juan Salvador always worked with the same two agents: Juan de Soto Noguera and Adrian Delgado y Ayala. Soto Noguera was particularly active in trading books for Salvador Perez. According to the *Casa de Contratación*, the government agency established in Seville that oversaw the trade with the colonies, Soto Noguera travelled to the New World eight times.

The 1681 trip to Paraguay by order of the Jesuits was the largest, with eleven cases and one bale of books. In the following sections we dissect the process used for this shipment of books, which can be a model for the working methods of Juan Salvador Perez and his business partners. In 1680, Tomas Dumbidas, vice-provincial and *Procurador* of the Jesuits in Paraguay, was commissioned by his provincial, Diego Altamirano, to travel to Spain in order to accompany the journey of new missionaries to Paraguay. According to the passenger lists at the *Casa de Contratación*, he

<sup>97</sup> For further information, see: Isabella H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725* (Amsterdam: Publicaties van de Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst van Amsterdam, 1961–1978) 5 vols.

<sup>98</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 13052, fol. 1221r. He purchased 'Cartones y tablas de Flandes' for 600 escudos.



Table 5. Travels of Soto Noguera and Delgado y Ayala for Juan Salvador Perez, found in the notarial archives of Seville for the 1680s.

Date	Destination	Agents	Amount	Freight
1680	Nuevo España	Juan de Soto Noguera	270 pesos	6 packages of books
1681	Paraguay (SJ)	Adrian Delgado y Ayala Juan de Soto Noguera	19308 pesos	including 11 cases and 1 bale of books
1681	Granada y Quito (SJ)	Adrian Delgado y Ayala	1880 pesos	Unspecified
1683	New Spain	Juan de Soto Noguera	3900 pesos	3 bales
1687	New Spain	Juan de Soto Noguera	2800 escudos	3 bales of books
1689	New Spain	Juan de Soto Noguera	1300 escudos	9 cases of books

departed on a return journey to Paraguay through Buenos Aires on 18 September 1680 (his name was then included on the passenger list to Buenos Aires).<sup>99</sup> He was 58 years old, had red skin, was bald and in good health. According to a study by García Galán, large quantities of goods were often sent along on such excursions. In many cases, they were officially listed as baggage belonging to the new missionaries. By noting the goods as such (i.e. equipment for the mission, including a large share of books), the Jesuits were able to ship goods to the Americas without further verification from the Inquisition and without taxes. Although other religious orders or traders could apply for this exemption with regard to goods for the missions as well, the Jesuits appear to have been the only ones to receive a general exemption since 1606.<sup>100</sup> The missionaries and their 'baggage' were loaded onto a ship that sailed from Cadiz to Buenos Aires. This was not the usual supply route for the *Flota*, which ran along Panama (were the goods were transported over land from the Atlantic to the

<sup>99</sup> Archivo General de Indias, ES.41091.AGI/16419//PASAJEROS,L.13,E.1524 and Archivo General de Indias, *Contratación*, 5443, N.2, R.48.

<sup>100</sup> Galán García, *El oficio de Indias de los jesuitas en Sevilla*, 97–104.

Pacific) to Lima and then proceeded inland. The route from Buenos Aires was a more direct route for sending supplies to Paraguay.

The notarial archives of Seville allow us to follow Dumbidas' preparations in detail. He first borrowed the money needed for supplying the mission in Paraguay from various intermediaries. Large sums were involved: 6500 pesos from Sergeant Adrian Delgado y Ayala on 30 April 1680; 5100 pesos from Juan de Soto Noguera and another 5100 pesos from Adrian Delgado y Ayala on 15 June 1680; 2576 pesos from Francisco Montero (a pharmacist from Seville) on 11 September 1680; and, finally, another 432 pesos from Adrian Delgado y Ayala on the same day.<sup>101</sup> Because the latter sums were borrowed very shortly before Dumbidas' name appears on the passenger list, they were probably for last-minute purchases involving smaller amounts of money. As far as we have been able to determine from the Sevillian archives, Dumbidas borrowed a total of 19,308 pesos in Seville, which was a very high amount. The greatest share of these loans came from Adrian Delgado y Ayala and Juan de Soto Noguera. The borrowed funds were to be repaid to Delgado and Soto within 15 days after the ship arrived back in Cadiz.<sup>102</sup>

Soto Noguera, Delgado y Ayala and the pharmacist Delgado (the three people who had lent money to Dumbidas) transferred their rights to the money to Salvador Perez in June 1680.<sup>103</sup> In 1682, after the ships returned, Salvador Perez received the money that the Jesuits from Paraguay owed him through the *Procurador General de las Indias Occidentales*, Pedro del Espinar.<sup>104</sup>

The following pattern thus appears to be hidden behind this tangle of guarantees, authorisations and loans. In this case, Juan Salvador Perez delivered goods (including books) valued at nearly 20,000 pesos to the Jesuits in Paraguay. Perez did not personally enter into a contract with Dumbidas. His contracts were with the agents Soto Noguero and Delgado y Ayala. Through an apparently opaque structure, Dumbidas borrowed money from the agents of Perez, who subsequently ceded their rights to that money to Perez, who ultimately accepted payment from the *Procurador General* for the colonies. Behind this construction, however, lay the following actions: Dumbidas had ordered goods valued at a certain

<sup>101</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 4 2744, fol. 79r, fol. 93r, fol. 602r, fol. 640r, fol. 641r; *Oficio* 4 2745, 392r, fol. 417r, fol. 863r, fol. 864r.

<sup>102</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 4 2745, fol. 392r.

<sup>103</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 19 13018, fol. 323r–324r.

<sup>104</sup> AHPS, *Protocolos notariales*, *Oficio* 4 2752, fol. 971r.

sum from the agents of Perez, who were then supplied by Perez. The agents accompanied the goods from Spain to the New World, in this case, the Jesuit missions in Paraguay.

No cash was used throughout the entire system. The key to the system lay in the close connection between Salvador Perez and the *Procurador General de las Indias Occidentales*. Perez delivered goods for the colonies, for which he received payment from the *Procurador* two years later, once the goods had reached their destination. Although there are no reports to be found regarding how or how much the agents of Perez were paid, they may have received a percentage upon their return to Seville. It is also very likely that they earned money by bringing raw materials from the colonies to Spain, although I have found no evidence to this effect.

### *Verdussen in America*

As demonstrated by the close ties between the Verdussens and Juan Salvador Perez in Seville, a large proportion of the books that Verdussen shipped to the Iberian Peninsula eventually ended up in the colonies. This assumption requires further research, particularly with regard to the Verdussens' role in the Portuguese empire. The Verdussens' international reputation was further strengthened by the fact that they were able to establish direct contacts with the colonies in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. On 21 November 1679, Bernardo Mosquera, a bookseller from Lima, sent a letter to Hieronymus III Verdussen.<sup>105</sup> He had already purchased several cases of books from Verdussen and was now approaching him directly in order to arrange further shipments. According to Mosquera, who referred to himself as the last remaining bookseller in Peru, the local book trade was in the midst of a deep crisis: there was an oversupply of unwanted books, and the purchasing power of the population had declined due to the decreased production of silver. Given that Verdussen was one of the few remaining European booksellers whose deliveries still made it into Lima (still according to Mosquera), he wished to continue ordering books from him, but only under certain conditions. Mosquera wanted to decide which books he would purchase according to catalogues that had been sent, and he asked Verdussen to stop delivering unsolicited titles. Mosquera would henceforth order books from Verdussen

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<sup>105</sup> CAA, *Genealogisch Fonds* 99. We are grateful to Werner Thomas for translating this letter.

only if he had customers for them. He was also interested in the latest publications (no more than one year old), but Verdussen was allowed to send only six of these each time. Moreover, Verdussen would bear sole responsibility for the risky transport from Europe to Lima.

Given Mosquera's high demands, it is doubtful whether Verdussen accepted his request. The letter certainly emphasises the important position of the Verdussen firm, not only within the European book trade (and, more specifically, the supply to the Iberian Peninsula) but, by extension, within their colonies as well. Mosquera further asked Verdussen explicitly about the shipment of books from Castile, indicating that the supply of books from Spain was difficult and that the Verdussens could provide solutions for these problems. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Verdussens' position became only stronger, and they issued more and more books that were specifically intended for the colonial market. Cornelius and Henricus Verdussen, successors to Hieronymus III Verdussen (and thus the fourth generation of the printing dynasty), regularly printed the *Itinerario para parrochos de Indios* (1698, 1726, 1737, 1754) by Alonso de la Pena Montenegro. This work was a popular guide for the pastors of Indian villages. In addition, they even published two works in Portuguese. Both were practical manuals, which were certainly useful for the Portuguese settlers, by Joannes Stooter, a citizen of Antwerp who had established himself as a merchant in Lisbon. The *Spingardeiro Com Conta, Pezo, & Medida*, which was published in 1719, was a guide for making firearms.<sup>106</sup> The *Arte de brilhantes vernizes, & das tinturas, fazelas* is about the processing and protection of wood, metal and other materials. In this work, Stooter pays considerable attention to the colonial wood species found in Brazil and Angola.<sup>107</sup> The bulk of the Verdussens' works that were intended for the Iberian market, however, were in Spanish. As mentioned before Henricus and Cornelius Verdussen were the absolute leaders in this field for the Southern Netherlands.<sup>108</sup>

The Verdussen brand's reputation within the Spanish-speaking world was also accompanied by piracy. For example, two editions of the Verdussen bestseller *Sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii tridentini* [...]

<sup>106</sup> João Stooter, *Spingardeiro Com Conta, Pezo, & Medida*, Antwerp, Henricus & Cornelis Verdussen 1719.

<sup>107</sup> João Stooter, *Arte de brilhantes vernizes, & das tinturas, fazelas, & o como obrar com ellas*, Antwerp: widow of Henricus Verdussen, 1729.

<sup>108</sup> Van den Bergh, *Spaanstalige boeken*, 57–59.

*canones et decreta* appeared in 1694 and 1718, bearing an imprint containing the name of Franciscus Berdusen.<sup>109</sup>

Not only were the quality and stylistic characteristics of the typography in these editions quite different from those of the Verdussens' printing, no Franciscus Verdussen was active in Antwerp in the late seventeenth century. Even if there had been, he would not have spelled his name as Berdusen. The work was probably printed in Spain using the false address and then exported to the colonies and other destinations. The *Biblioteca Nacional de España* possesses another Franciscus Verdussen publication from 1706, the *Historia Alexandri Magni* by Quintus Curtius Rufus.

It is not clear who was behind this Franciscus Verdussen. It need not have been an insignificant party. It is known that the established Sevillian printer Tomas Lopez de Haro, who may have been related to the academic printers in Leiden with the same name, published works under the false address of the Verdussens.<sup>110</sup> He did this in 1682, with an edition of *Guia y aliento del alma viadora* by Bishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza, taking care to include a double imprint: '*Brusselas por Juan Baptista Verdussen, Vendese en casa de Tomas Lopez de Haro*'.<sup>111</sup> Lopez de Haro did better than the anonymous printer in the previous example had done, by opting to use an existing and active Verdussen as a false address, albeit in the wrong city. This eliminates the possibility that the book was actually printed by Verdussen under commission from Lopez de Haro. Moreover, the work contains only approbations that refer to Seville.

The *Historia general de las conquistas del nuevo reyno de Granada* by another American bishop, Lucas Fernandez Piedrahita, is believed to have been printed by Joannes Baptista I Verdussen in 1688. Peeters-Fontainas notes the presence of *cul-de-lampes* and *fleurons* in the work. Tomas Lopez de Haro had used these in several works, including those by Palafox.<sup>112</sup> This time, Lopez de Haro managed to indicate the right city, although the typography and ecclesiastical approvals are entirely in Spanish.

A third work for which Lopez de Haro used the name of Joannes Baptista Verdussen as a false address is *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol*

<sup>109</sup> The 1694 edition is located in the *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*. The 1718 edition, which is located in the *Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico*, had been the property of the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Toluca.

<sup>110</sup> Theo Bögels en Paul Hoftijzer, *David en Felix Lopez de Haro (1627–1694), boekverkopers op het Rapenburg over de Academie: vijf bijdragen* (Leiden: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1985).

<sup>111</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, nr. 1028: 'In Brussels, by Juan Baptista Verdussen, sold in the house of Tomas Lopez de Haro'.

<sup>112</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, nr. 455.

*sobre sus tres coronas el B. Toribo Alfonso Mogrobexo* by Francisco de Echave y Assu from 1688. In this case as well, the typography is clearly not from Antwerp. Peeters-Fontainas notes the *fleurons* and *cul-de lampes* of Lopez de Haro in this work as well, in addition to approbations from Spanish clergy.<sup>113</sup> It is particularly striking that each of these works features a famous American author and subject. Palafox was Bishop of Puebla in New Spain, Piedrahita was Bishop of Santa Marta and Panama, and Echave y Assu was a Peruvian chronicler. In particular, the latter two works were key texts on the history and identity of New Granada and Peru, respectively. It is obvious that these works were largely exported to the colonies. Lopez de Haro's decision to use Verdussen as a false address provides evidence of the Verdussens' reputation in the New World. Thus far, the literature has assumed that the work of these noted American authors had actually been printed in Antwerp.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, this discovery does not detract from Verdussen's importance to the Latin American book trade: the wrongful use of the Verdussen name actually proves the economic attractiveness of this Antwerp printing family. In this regard, the location in which a printer is pirated says a great deal about the market in which it the printer is present.

The scope of this study does not allow the reconstruction of a complete overview of all Verdussen prints that are currently included in collections in Latin America. During a brief research residency in Mexico, I was able to visit seven Mexican libraries in order to search for Verdussen publications.<sup>115</sup> In all, these activities yielded 86 editions and 139 copies. Once again, it is important to note that this was only a sample and that only the publications of the first three generations of the Verdussen family were counted.<sup>116</sup> Analysis of these exported works reveals that they do not reflect the entire collection of publications by the Verdussens.

Of the books that the Verdussens introduced on the market during the first six decades, relatively few titles are to be found in Mexico. The

<sup>113</sup> Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, nr. 366.

<sup>114</sup> Eddy Stols, 'No hay más Flandes en o tempo dos flamengos in koloniaal Amerika,' *De zeventiende eeuw* 21/1 (2005): 24.

<sup>115</sup> This study was made possible by a grant from the Center for Mexican Studies in 2009 (University of Antwerp). The collections that were studied are as follows: *Biblioteca Nacional de México* (Mexico City, approximately 25 % processed), *Biblioteca Lerdo de Tejada* (Mexico City), *Biblioteca Benito Juárez* of the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (Mexico City), *Biblioteca Virreinal* of the *Museo Virreinal de Zinacantepec* (Zinacantepec), *Biblioteca Francisco Burgoa* (Oaxaca), *Biblioteca Lafragua* (Puebla) and *Biblioteca Franciscana* (Cholula).

<sup>116</sup> The number of works by the fourth generation (Henricus and Cornelius Verdussen) is even greater than that of the third generation.

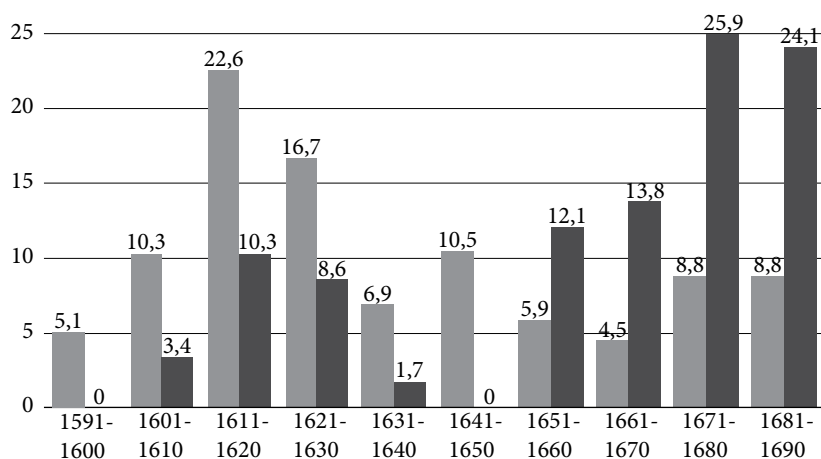


Fig. 3. Percentage distribution of publications by decade, for the complete publisher's list of the Verdussen (light grey), compared to the publications preserved in Mexican libraries (dark grey).

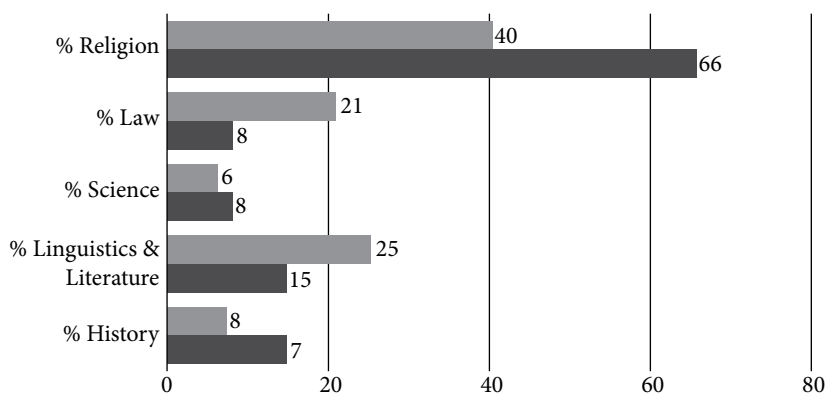


Fig. 4. Comparison of the topics in the complete publisher's list of the third-generation Verdussens (light grey) to those of the books found in Mexican collections (dark grey).

situation is drastically different for works published after 1651 (during the third generation), when relatively more Verdussen books were brought to Mexico. In all, more than three quarters of the works in Mexico were published after 1651. The exports to Mexico were also specialised in terms of content. Comparison between the collection of the third-generation Verdussens and the books that were exported to Mexico reveals that two

thirds of the works in Mexico had been written on religious topics, while this category accounts for only 40% of the Verdussens' entire publisher's list. No differences could be established for topics related to science and history. Books on linguistics, literature and law account for a somewhat smaller percentage of the works that were exported to Mexico. This is understandable for the legal works, given that such works are often specific to the legal system in a given area; as such, they were not always useful in the New World. It is more difficult to offer an unequivocal explanation for the lack of literature. In many cases, these books were less expensive and therefore less interesting to transport from Antwerp to New Spain. It could have been that the lower costs of production had already ensured a sufficient supply of literature on the Spanish market. Finally, it should also be mentioned that the collections of the libraries surveyed in this study are largely composed of collections from ancient monasteries and colleges. It is therefore not entirely surprising that Mexican libraries contain more religious than literary materials.

### *Conclusion*

Contrary to the opinions of many book historians, the Antwerp book trade did not fall into total decadence in the second half of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the economic situation was far from perfect, but it was not just a local problem, it affected a lot of areas in Europe. The case of the Verdussens proves that entrepreneurs could find solutions to these challenges. Rather than speaking of the period in terms of a downfall, it might be more accurate to describe it as a period of transformation. In order to ensure the vitality of their enterprise the Verdussen family successfully reorientated from printer-booksellers focused on local markets to a firm that specialised in voluminous counter-reformation material aimed at the Spanish and Portuguese markets, that were still in expansion because of their overseas territories.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE GLOBALIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN BOOK MARKET: DIEGO CRANCE'S *CATALOGUS LIBRORUM* (SEVILLE, 1680) AND THE SALE OF BOOKS IN NEW SPAIN

Pedro Rueda Ramírez

The *Catalogus librorum, ô Memoria de los Libros de todo genero de Facultades, que se venden en Casa de Diego Cranze en esta ciudad* [*Catalogus librorum, or List of Books of all Kinds for Sale in the House of Diego Cranze in this city*] ([Seville]: Por Diego Cranze, 1680) is the first catalogue of books for sale to be printed in Seville, the first in Andalusia, and the first catalogue printed in Europe for the sale of books in Mexico. The booksellers of Seville played a vital role in the book trade with the Americas, but it was not until 1680 that they used printed catalogues to carry out their sales there. This new strategy was unprecedented in the transatlantic book trade between the territories of the Spanish crown. In this text we shall examine the catalogue and present previously unpublished information about Diego Crance and the relations between the booksellers of Seville and their market in Mexico. Crance travelled to Mexico to sell the books contained in the *Catalogus librorum*, but ran into trouble with the agents of the Inquisition in Mexico when he arrived in the cities of New Spain. We shall look at the steps involved in the sale of books, and look at some of the works which attracted the attention of the Mexican representatives of the Inquisition.

The researcher Torre Revelló recorded the discovery, in 1929, of a catalogue of books for sale published in Seville under the title of *Catalogo, o memoria de libros, de todas facultades ... para vender en las Indias* [*Catalogue, or list of books, of all kinds ... for sale in the Indies*] [Seville: s.n., c. 1689]. This was the first published study of a sales catalogue for New Spain.<sup>1</sup> Other discoveries followed in further specialist studies, which were compiled in the pioneering work by Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino titled *Catálogos de libreros españoles: 1661–1798: intento bibliográfico* [*Catalogues*

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<sup>1</sup> José Torre Revelló, *Un catálogo impreso de libros para vender en las Indias occidentales en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Francisco Beltrán, 1930).

of *Spanish Booksellers: 1661–1798: a bibliographic essay*] (1942). The absence of other catalogues published in Seville was surprising, but further research has enabled us to locate other catalogues that were published for the American market. The research carried out by Kenneth Ward (John Carter Brown Library) and Idalia García (UNAM) made it possible to locate catalogues from 1680, 1682, 1683 and 1687.<sup>2</sup> It is highly likely that other catalogues were published, but none have survived, or at least none have been unearthed by researchers. The studies of Rodríguez-Moñino only mention three catalogues from the seventeenth century: two of them were inventories for the sale of private libraries in Madrid, and the third was the sales catalogue for the Indies discovered by Torre Revelló.<sup>3</sup> So the new discoveries raise the number of catalogues to seven. The five catalogues published in the 1680s in Seville were connected with the sale of books as part of the Trade with the Indies. Taken together, they offer us a view of how European books were supplied to the American market.

### *Diego Crance*

Little is known about Diego Crance (also recorded as Crance, Cranze or Crançe), in spite of the efforts to track down relevant documents from notaries and the Inquisition. He drew up his will on 15 June 1678, and it is in this document that we discover the identity of his parents, namely Ángel Crance and María de la Selva. His father had died that year, and his wife Isabel de Lezame gave birth to their daughter Eusebia Josefina in the same year. We have been unable to gather much more biographical information to date. Crance seems to have been starting out as a husband and a father at exactly the same time as he was setting out on a new trading adventure with the American colonies. His sister, Manuela Teresa Crance, who had married the printer and bookseller Tomás López de Haro, must have been a decisive influence. These family links, and the position of the Crance family within Seville's Flemish community are vital to understanding how things developed. López de Haro maintained close business and blood relations with the Flemish community and his marriage was decisive in consolidating this position. His wife, Manuela Crance, would be involved in her husband's business and, like her brother, she took part in

<sup>2</sup> This work forms part of the R+D+i Project and Census of Spanish bookseller catalogues (from the earliest to 1840), Ref. HAR2009-08763, of the Ministry of Science and Innovation.

<sup>3</sup> Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Historia de los catálogos de librerías españoles (1661–1840): estudio bibliográfico* (Madrid, 1966), 107–110.

the trade with the Indies. In 1690 Manuela Crance declared “twelve small boxes of books numbered from 1 to 12” which were sent to America on board the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*.<sup>4</sup>

The families of Crance and López de Haro were therefore actively engaged in the book trade from the 1670s to the end of the century, as the heirs of López de Haro continued to print books in the city and sent regular consignments to America.<sup>5</sup> The position of the Crance-López de Haro family in the book business of Seville, and their role in international trade, meant that they became one of the most prominent book merchants and printers in the city in the reign of Carlos II (1661–1700), and enjoyed an elevated capacity for investment.

The active participation of López de Haro, who was well known in the book trade and had been involved in the transatlantic business since 1662, was a decisive factor for Crance. The earliest document that places them both in relation is a notary statement from 1672. In this year Crance promised to pay a saddler by the name of Domingo López the sum of 540 *reales de vellón*. The document includes the name of the guarantor, who would pay the debt in the event that Crance was unable to do so. In this case, the guarantor was “Tomás López de Haro, book merchant and resident of this city [...] in the street of Génova”.<sup>6</sup> A little later, in 1678, Tomás López de Haro lent a significant sum of money to Crance, exactly “one hundred and twenty thousand *reales de vellón*”, an amount which indicates how closely they were working together, and how serious their business in New Spain had become. This amount of money was to pay the expenses of the voyage and the cost of the merchandise to be shipped to Mexico.<sup>7</sup> This type of arrangement was fairly common: one of the parties invested money (or merchandise) while the other travelled with the goods and sold them in return for a percentage.

Crance's catalogue contains sixteen different publications which were advertised as being “from Flanders”. It was intended to make the books more attractive for the purchasers. The fact that this term was mostly applied to Greek and Latin texts is significant: “Virgilios de Flandes”, “Epistolae Ciceronis de Flandes”, “Cicero de Officijs de Flandes”, “Iuvenal cum notis [Thomas] Farnabi de Flandes”, “Valerio de Flandes”, “Lucrecio de Flandes”, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo General de Indias (AGI). Contratación, 1247. *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, f. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Francisco Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla (AHPSe). Protocolos, leg. 12987 (oficio 19), f. 200r-v. 1672.

<sup>7</sup> AHPSe. Protocolos, leg. 13010 (oficio 19), f. 427r-v. 1678.

As we have seen, some of the books included in Crance's list originated in Flanders. Many of them would have been printed in the southernmost territories, especially in Antwerp, where there was a very active publishing industry, a large part of whose output was intended for the Spanish and Latin American markets.<sup>8</sup> The business between the Flemish booksellers and printers and Seville was profitable, and we can trace a number of agents and intermediaries who ensured that the books kept coming. Juan Lippeo, for example, was employed by the Bellère booksellers of Antwerp, and when he died in 1582, he left a stock of 736 different books for distribution in Spain and the New World.<sup>9</sup> After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, the book trade in the Flemish cities was transformed and began to specialize in the sale of books for the Catholic Counter Reformation as well as other works which were of interest to the Spanish and South American markets.<sup>10</sup> This was the strategy followed by the Verdussen house, who published sales catalogues and concentrated their sales network on the southern European markets.<sup>11</sup> A prominent bookseller at the end of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century in Seville, Pedro de Santiago, received books from Henry and Cornelius Verdussen, and then sent regular shipments on to America.<sup>12</sup> These links between the territories of Flanders and Seville also made the publication of books easier, and many texts were sent to these printers for publication or for translation and publication in several languages.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Werner Thomas and César Manrique, "La infraestructura de la globalización: la imprenta flamenca y la construcción del imperio hispánico en América", in Patrick Collard, Miguel Norbert and Yolanda Rodríguez (eds.), *Encuentros de ayer y reencuentros de hoy: Flandes, Países Bajos y el mundo hispánico en los siglos XVI-XVII* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), 45–71.

<sup>9</sup> Klaus Wagner, *Flamencos en el comercio de libros en España: Juan Lippeo, mercader de libros y agente de los Bellère de Amberes*, in Pedro M. Cátedra and María L. López-Vidriero (eds.), *El libro antiguo español, VI. De libros, librerías, imprenta y lectores* (Salamanca: Universidad-SEMYR, 2002), 431–498.

<sup>10</sup> Jaime Moll, "Amberes y el mundo hispánico", in Werner Thomas and Robert A. Verdonk (eds.), *Encuentros en Flandes: relaciones e intercambios hispano-flamencos a inicios de la Edad Moderna* (Leuven: Leuven University Press; Soria: Fundación Duques de Soria, 2000), 117–131.

<sup>11</sup> Stijn van Rossem, "The bookshop of the Counter-Reformation revisited: the Verdussen company and the trade in Catholic publications, Antwerp, 1585–1648", *Quaerendo: a quarterly journal from the Low Countries devoted to manuscripts and printed books* 38, 4 (2008), 306–321.

<sup>12</sup> Clara Palmiste, "Aspectos de la circulación de libros entre Sevilla y América (1689–1740)", in Antonio Gutiérrez Escudero and María Luisa Laviana Cuetos (eds.), *Estudios sobre América, siglos XVI-XX* (Sevilla: Asociación Española de Americanistas, 2005), 834.

<sup>13</sup> Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1965).

López de Haro purchased books from the Low Countries for a number of years. Along with the books, he also acquired new typefaces for his press and sent printing materials on to the press in Puebla de los Ángeles.<sup>14</sup> Besides these businesses, he was active as an editor and intermediary in negotiations regarding publications. In 1680, François T'serstevens, a bookseller from Brussels was named on the imprint of *Platicas domesticas espirituales, hechas por el reverendissimo padre Juan Paulo Oliva, preposito general de la Compañia de Jesus* (En Brusselas: por Francisco Tserstevens, mercader de libros, 1680). In this same year, Tomás López de Haro signed a contract for the publication of this book with the Jesuit Pedro de Espinar, and agreed to deliver “five hundred books titled Spiritual Talks by the Reverend Father Juan Paulo Oliva, Head of the Company of Jesus, which I am to print and bind at my own expense”.<sup>15</sup> This work does not feature among the material published by López de Haro, but a comparison of the printing materials used by López de Haro in 1680 and that used in the *Platicas domesticas* reveals that the material used is the same, and that it was probably an edition that was printed at López de Haro's press in Seville, with the imprint added to it. This might be confirmed by a thorough bibliographical study. T'serstevens' connection with Seville can be traced in other cases, such as the publication of sacred oratory by Francisco Gaspar de Herrera “priest of the parish church of Saint Julian in the city of Seville” under the title of *Sermones* (En Brusselas : por Francisco Tserstevens, impressor, y mercader de libros, 1685). This raises the possibility that López de Haro was involved in the publication of this work too, but another detailed bibliographical study would be needed to confirm this.

*Keeping Watch on the Books being Sent to America:  
The Inquisition's Control Process*

The dispatch of books to Mexico was subject to two administrative procedures. The person sending the books had to take the boxes to the Customs House of Seville and go through the administrative procedures with the royal officials of the Contracting House, and then go to another building where the inquisitors of Seville were located. We have very interesting information about Diego Crance's experience, because the report of the Inquisition in Mexico includes a copy of the procedures from Seville. We

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Castro Regla, *Comentarios en torno a la marca tipográfica de Diego Fernández de León* (México: UNAM, 2008). Unpublished Master's thesis.

<sup>15</sup> AHPSe. Protocolos, leg. 2743, f. 791r-v.

shall examine these step by step. On the 21st June 1680, Diego Crance took a copy of his catalogue to the inquisitors of Seville and presented this request:

Most Illustrious Gentlemen,  
I, Diego Crance, inhabitant of this city, affirm that I have these books [in the list] in the Customs House. I request licence from your lordships to transport them to the shores of the Indies without impediment.  
Diego Crance.<sup>16</sup>

Once the request and catalogue had been received, the inquisitors “requested that a censor from the Holy Office examine these books and give his approval with regard to matters pertaining to the Holy Office”.<sup>17</sup> The inquisitors therefore instructed a censor to check the titles against the indexes of the Inquisition, which in this case was the *Novissimus librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum index pro Catholici Hispaniarum Regnis Philippii IV* (Madrid: ex Typographaeo Didaci Diaz, 1640). The censor charged with the task was the Jesuit Pedro Zapata, a competent theologian and friend of Tomás López de Haro. In 1678, he had published a sermon by Pedro Zapata, namely his *Oracion funebre... a... Don Juan Federiqui* [*Funeral Sermon for... Don Juan Federiqui*] (En Sevilla : Thomas Lopez de Haro, 1678). The censors were often Jesuits or members of other religious orders, who generally had thorough theological training. Their role as guardians of the Catholic faith made them effective agents of the Counter Reformation. On the same day, 21 June, Crance went to see father Zapata and obtained his approval “that the books contained in this list are not

forbidden and with regard to the interests of the Holy Office, may be transported”.<sup>18</sup> This approval from the censor of the Holy Office meant that the books could now be shipped abroad. Zapata saw nothing objectionable among the books in the list although, as we shall see, things were not so straightforward on the other side of the Atlantic. The agents of the Inquisition often acted differently in different territories, and it was never easy to establish the limits to their responsibilities or the censorship of books, especially those which had been published after the index of prohibited material was published in 1640. Many of the books on Crance’s list

<sup>16</sup> Archivo General de la Nación (AGN). Inquisición, vol. 667, exp. 23, f. 347r. Ilustrísimos Señores. Diego Crance vecino desta ciudad digo que tengo en la aduana los libros contenidos [en la memoria]. Suplico a vuestras señorías de dar licencia para que puedan pasar a las costas de las Indias sin impedimento ninguno. Diego Crance.

<sup>17</sup> AGN. Inquisición, vol. 667, exp. 23, f. 347r.

<sup>18</sup> AGN. Inquisición, vol. 667, exp. 23, f. 352v.

were new editions or completely new works published after the index of 1640. When faced with doubts on the legitimacy of a text, the agents of the Inquisition were frequently able to overstep their guidelines and confiscate suspicious works, even though there was no edict or index which expressly prohibited them. In Seville, Crance was able to complete all of the bureaucratic processes with the inquisitors, and managed to obtain permission for his list on the same day, enabling him to continue with his commercial venture.

### *The Atlantic Voyage*

When the boxes were released by the Customs House in Seville, they were taken to the small cargo boats which transported goods along the Guadalquivir river to the ocean-going vessels anchored in the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, or the neighbouring port of Cadiz. In 1680, the year of Crance's voyage, King Carlos II had decided that the ships sailing to America would set sail from Cadiz. The reasons for this were the danger posed by the low lying sandbar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir in the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, and the ease with which the cargo could be loaded onto the ships in the bay of Cadiz.<sup>19</sup> This led to more and more ships being loaded in the port of Cadiz, and the gradual transfer of the commercial activity of Seville to the bay of Cadiz. This did not have any effect on the business of Tomás López de Haro, who continued to operate from Seville. The booksellers of Seville relied on agents and intermediaries to transport the boxes of books as far as Cadiz, where they would be loaded onto the galleons and vessels which made the transatlantic voyage.

The travellers who made the voyage had to obtain a permit to travel to the territories of New Spain. This procedure was an obligation that was not waived even for those who travelled frequently; the permit entitled them to travel legally and engage in trade without undue complications. These requests have been compiled into a series known as the "Passengers to the Indies", but it has not been possible so far to find the request from Diego Crance. The description offered by the agent of the Holy Office in Puebla states "I understand that this Diego Crance is a foreigner, as is his

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<sup>19</sup> Rafael Antúñez Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación y gobierno del comercio de los españoles con sus colonias en las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1797), 10.

brother-in-law who is also a bookseller in Seville, from whom he obtains these books".<sup>20</sup> By accusing Crance of being a foreigner he was, in a very precise manner, marking him out as suspicious. In this sense, there is a certain ambiguity in the description, because Crance's origins were clearly foreign, his family being Flemish. This, however, would also have been an advantage. The meaning of the term "Flemish" has in fact changed during the modern era; originally it identified the subjects of the Spanish king who came from any of the seventeen provinces, but a distinction gradually arose in Spain between the Catholic Flemish and the rebellious Dutch. In Seville, the members of the "venerable and noble Flemish nation" worked hard to conserve their privileges and the recognition of their rights as subjects of the king. Even when the southern territories of the Low Countries came under the jurisdiction of the Austrian crown at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Flemish community in Seville claimed their right to be considered subjects of the Spanish king.<sup>21</sup>

Seville's Flemish community was in fact a very dynamic and powerful 'nation', as the members of a foreign community (and their descendants) were then termed, so it was a term which indicated membership of a certain clan rather than one's geographical origins. The Flemish colony in Seville numbered 120 individuals in 1640; they were spread across the city, but were especially numerous in the parishes of Santa María and San Isidro.<sup>22</sup> Their numbers would decline as a result of the plague of 1649, which hit the inhabitants of Seville very hard. In the 1660s, the Flemish community was thriving again as many came from the southern provinces and sought to settle in Spain through marriage with the natives of the kingdoms of Castile and the purchase of property.<sup>23</sup> Many of the Flemish residents of Seville had followed the same trajectory. Diego Crance and Tomás López de Haro both lived in Santa María, and Crance declared himself to be a resident of Seville when dealing with the authorities of the Mexican Inquisition. This statement was an indication of his belonging to the community and his particular status, which was strengthened through

<sup>20</sup> AGN. Inquisición, vol. 667, exp. 23, f. 345r.

<sup>21</sup> Ana Crespo Solana, "El patronato de la nación flamenca gaditana en los siglos XVII y XVIII: transformo social y económico de una institución piadosa", in *Studia Histórica. Historia Moderna* 24 (2002), 297–329 (310).

<sup>22</sup> Manuel Fernández Chaves and Mercedes Gamero Rojas, "Flamencos en la Sevilla del siglo XVIII: entre el Norte de Europa y América", in Fernando Navarro Antolín (ed.), *Orbis incognitus: avisos y legajos del nuevo mundo: homenaje al profesor Luis Navarro García* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2007–2009), 211–220.

<sup>23</sup> Tamar Herzog, *Vecinos y extranjero: hacerse español en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Alianza, 2003).



marriage and his links with the family of López de Haro. These strategies were also used by the Dherbe and Leefdael families, two Flemish booksellers who settled in Seville and were involved in the book trade during the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

Diego Crance made the voyage across the Atlantic several times, and his business activity in the Indies Trade extended over a long period. In 1672, he declared that he was in Seville “ready to depart for the kingdoms of the American mainland”. He did, in fact, make this journey, and was in business on the other side of the Atlantic in 1673. Juan García de Zurita, another merchant engaged in the Indies Trade, sent him nine cases of books. In this case, it was a business deal with Tomás López de Haro, who sent Crance these cases containing 223 different works (857 copies).<sup>25</sup> Once the books were sold, he returned. In 1678, we find him in Seville once more “departing for the province of New Spain in the fleet being sent to this province under the command of the General don Diego de Córdoba”.<sup>26</sup> On returning from this voyage, he was to set sail once more in 1680. Without ruling out other documents coming to light, we have evidence of him making three transatlantic voyages in barely nine years. These journeys were fraught with difficulties and each voyage meant risking one’s life, but they were routine for the members of the Flemish community who took part in the Indies Trade.<sup>27</sup> It was on the occasion of one of these voyages, in 1678, that he wrote his will. It was a common practice for passengers embarking for the Americas to write their last will and testament; Crance named Tomás López de Haro as one of the executors of his testament, another indication of their close relationship.

The agent of the Inquisition in Puebla indicated that he had arrived in New Spain “on the present fleet under the command of señor don Gaspar de Velasco”. He was referring to the convoy of ships that made up the fleet of General Manuel Gaspar Velasco which sailed to America on 12 July 1680.<sup>28</sup> The ships arrived at the port of Veracruz, in the Gulf of

<sup>24</sup> Clara Palmiste, “Los mercaderes de libros e impresores flamencos en Sevilla: organización de las redes mercantiles en Europa y América (1680–1750)”, in Ana Crespo Solana (coord.), *Comunidades transnacionales: Colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el mundo Atlántico (1500–1830)* (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 2010), 251–270.

<sup>25</sup> AGI. Contratación, 1223.

<sup>26</sup> AHPSe. Protocolos, leg. 13010 (oficio 19), f. 427r-v. 1678.

<sup>27</sup> Eddy Stols, “Artisans et commerçants flamands dans le Mexique colonial”, in *Les Belges et le Mexique: dix contributions à l’histoire des relations Belgique-Mexique* (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1993), 1–7 (6).

<sup>28</sup> Mervyn Francis Lang, *Las flotas de la Nueva España (1630–1710): despacho, azogue, comercio* (Sevilla: Muñoz Moya, 1998), 224.

Mexico, on 15 September 1680.<sup>29</sup> The passengers were on board for a total of 66 days, until they finally disembarked at New Veracruz. The place where Crance came ashore in 1680 was typical of commercial ports where people and goods passed through: the writer Juan Díez de la Calle wrote that “all along the coast of old Veracruz, every drop of rain that falls brings forth a toad, and some of them are as big as a hat”.<sup>30</sup> There was an abundance of cattle and fish, but business revolved around the arrival and departure of the fleet. In general, merchants attempted to leave the city as quickly as possible in order to put their goods on the Mexican market. On his arrival at the port of Veracruz, Crance found:

a wharf with capacity for unloading ships and making contracts, and close to the Royal Treasury, where the king's officials do their business every day, and a spacious square where booths are set up for the unloading of the fleet and the return of their effects once they have been examined against the registers.<sup>31</sup>

This was the first of the stages in the process. After the agents of the Inquisition at Veracruz had come aboard, the boxes of books would have been unloaded in the square where the “booths were set up” in order to return the material to its owners. Crance took precautions: before setting out on the journey overland, he wrote to the inquisitor of Puebla de los Ángeles, sending him the printed catalogue and informing him of his journey. Puebla was the ideal place to start his sales before moving on to Mexico. As the Carmelite Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa described it, Puebla de los Ángeles was “well-stocked, cheap, pleasant and very busy” with its intense commercial activity, which included textiles and wheat, and which made it one of “the biggest and best cities in New Spain, with over 3,000 Spanish inhabitants”.<sup>32</sup> The booksellers’ potential customers were to be found among this population of Spaniards and Creoles who thrived in this environment of business deals and contracts, but also among the many representatives of the bureaucratic machinery of the Crown and the ecclesiastical institutions of Puebla who needed books for their activities. On his arrival in Puebla, Crance must have gone to visit the inquisitor, and handed in some of his books (as we shall see later), but the

<sup>29</sup> Rafael Antúnez Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación...*, appendix XXV.

<sup>30</sup> Juan Díez de la Calle. *Noticias sacras y reales*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, mss. 3023. Veracruz nueva en f. 219r-222r.

<sup>31</sup> José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro americano: descripción general de los reynos y provincias de la Nueva España y sus jurisdicciones* (México: Trillas, 1992), 224.

<sup>32</sup> Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid: Información y Revistas, 1992), 219.

most important outcome of this visit was that the inquisitor gave him permission “to open his boxes of books and sell them in this city, and for his convenience, I have given him one of the unused classrooms of the college”.<sup>33</sup> With a place to sell his books, Crance was able to set himself up and attend to his customers. There were already some printers and booksellers in the city, such as Juan de Borja y Gandía, whose business was continued by his wife Inés Vázquez Infante, and Diego Fernández de León, a bookseller from Valladolid who arrived in Puebla around 1682, and set up his shop in the so-called “booksellers’ gateway”, in the heart of the city.<sup>34</sup> The other bookshops and printers did not prevent Crance from attracting customers, because his stock was rich and varied, and his books were not easily found in the Indies; many of them being new or only recently published.

### *The List of Books of all Kinds*

Crance’s list divided the books into two main categories; first there were the Latin works, and then there were the “romance” books, written in the vernacular, which in this case was Spanish. A clear distinction was made between the two, and the 409 Latin titles more than doubled the number in Spanish, which came to 197. In percentages, the Latin works made up 67.5% of the material, while the Spanish came to 32.5%. This balance is only applicable to this particular catalogue, which was unusually well-stocked with Latin works, and cannot be extrapolated to the bulk of the trade with New Spain. Other hand-written lists or catalogues reveal a more even balance. For example, the lists of books sent by the booksellers of Seville to their colleague in Puebla, Diego López, between 1604 and 1608 contained 6,590 books in a proportion of 56.9% in Spanish and 43.1% in Latin. The distribution of the languages in Crance’s catalogue was a direct result of the incorporation of a large number of works printed in presses across Europe and imported into Spain for distribution to America.

The Latin works are grouped into four categories: theology, law, medicine and “miscellanei”, where we can find a wide range of humanist works. The declaration in the title of “Books of all kinds” can be attributed to this grouping of materials. The potential customers who consulted the catalogue would have found it easy to relate each of these groupings with

<sup>33</sup> AGN. Inquisición, vol. 667, exp. 23, f. 344r.

<sup>34</sup> Francisco Pérez Salazar, *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial. Dos familias de impresores mexicanos del siglo XVII* (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1987) 31.

the academic disciplines offered by centres of learning. The reference to branches of knowledge should be read as an advertisement, as a way of signalling the Latin works which were suited to studies in colleges, seminaries, universities, or in carrying out professional activities. The four-part structure can be found again in Tomás López de Haro's *Catalogue* (Seville, 1687) where an identical division was used to organize the Latin works in the list. A century later, in 1760, the bookseller and printer Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros (1713–1781) published a sales catalogue listing 1,160 works, all of which were in Latin. Espinosa de los Monteros used the same division of the books into four categories, in the same order, starting with theology and ending with humanism (see the table below comparing them).

The books in Spanish are not grouped into any such categories, and are mingled so that the “Comedias escogidas” are followed by “Naxera [Sermones] del Ss. Sacramento [Naxera [Sermons] of the Holy Sacrament].”

Diego Crance's <i>Catalogus</i> (Seville, 1680)	Tomás López de Haro's <i>Catalogue</i> (Seville, 1687)	Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros' <i>Catalogue</i> (Cadiz, 1760)
<i>Libri theologici</i>	<i>Libros Theologicos</i>	<i>Catalogus librorum theologicorum</i>
<i>Libri iuridici</i>	<i>Libros juridicos</i>	<i>Librorum iuridicorum civil et canonic.</i>
<i>Libri medicorum</i>	<i>Libros de medicina</i>	<i>Librorum medicorum, sicut et chirurgicorum, anatomicorum, pharmaceuticorum, botanicorum, &amp; chimicorum</i>
<i>Libri miscellanei</i>	<i>Libros Misselanicos, o de letras humanas</i>	<i>Miscellaneorum sive historicum, grammaticorum, philosophicorum, mathematicorum, geographicorum, politicorum, numismaticorum, &amp; quorumque humaniores artes spectantium</i>

The 197 books in Spanish cover a broad cultural spectrum. This category is referred to as “libros en romance en general [general romance books]”, and includes history books, entertainment, popular science, medicine and a wide range of religious works (collections of sermons, moral tracts and a remarkable number of devotional texts). Some of these works had a very long publishing history, such as the *Silva de varia lección* by Pedro Mexía, or the *Pedanius Dioscórides* by Andrés Laguna. We can find these books in collections from the middle of the sixteenth century, and they would continue to be printed regularly and sold. Other books included were new to the Spanish presses, such as the *Parte quarenta y quatro de Comedias nuevas* (Madrid, 1678), the *Annales de Sevilla* (Seville, 1677) by Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, the *Vida de Don Miguel Mañara* (Seville, 1679) by Juan de Cárdenas, and the devotional book by Alonso Guerrero, titled *Escudo del alma contra el pecado y tratados espirituales* [*The soul's shield against sin and spiritual tracts*] (Madrid, 1679). There were also works translated into Spanish, such as a text by the Jesuit Nicolás Caussin (1583–1651), *La iornada del buen christiano* (Madrid, 1674), or classical authors, such as Flavius Josephus, *Los siete libros de Flavio Iosefo los quales contienen las guerras de los judios y de la destruicion de Ierusalem* [*The Seven books of Flavius Josephus containing the wars of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem*] (Madrid, 1657).

In each of the four categories of Latin works, as well as the books in Spanish, there is a division among the books in folio and those in quarto (which also includes the other smaller formats, such as the octavo and 12mo). This separation by format must have had an obvious meaning for the purchaser, who would place certain texts in each block. In the case of the Latin books, the folio format (a total of 203) makes up 49.6% of the total, with the other formats accounting for 206 titles. There are 203 Latin works in folio (80.2%), and only 50 works in Spanish in this format (19.8%). With regard to the books in quarto or smaller formats, there are 205 Latin works (59%) and 147 works in Spanish (41%).

The relative importance of the more manageable formats, from quarto to 12mo, can be seen when compared to the total. There are 353 books (58.2%) in quarto or smaller formats compared with 253 titles in folio (41.7%). This is interesting, because while there is a predominance of Latin works (409 compared with 197 in Spanish), when we look at the formats, there is a clear preference for quarto and smaller formats. This difference can be seen more clearly if we break them down into their subject areas. Folio is only predominant among the books on theology and law. The smaller formats are predominant in all the other subjects, (medicine,

miscellaneous and Spanish books). The case of the miscellaneous Latin works is revealing, as it includes only 38 works in folio, while the remaining 102 works were sent to Mexico in more manageable formats, mainly quarto and octavo. In percentage terms, the group consists of 27.1% in folio, and 72.8% in other formats.

*Arrival in Puebla and Problems with the Inquisition*

The commercial activity in Puebla encouraged the establishment of a large merchant community, many of whom were wholesalers. Business was swift and they were able to operate as intermediaries in transatlantic trade. Some booksellers from Seville travelled there regularly to place their merchandise onto the American market, and they were familiar with all the tricks, legal and otherwise, required to get their books through customs; they had access to transport and warehouse space, and they knew the systems of credit and payments that were required in the transport of precious metals as payment for the goods sent from Europe. Diego Crance travelled with his books, just as many apprentices and young booksellers had done many times before. When he came to Puebla, it was a busy city with a remarkable range of shops and intermediaries who did business with traders in Veracruz, Mexico, Guatemala, and so on. Another case similar to his may illustrate how this movement of traders took place, and how they set up their establishment in their destination, albeit provisionally at first. Juan Gómez was born in La Higuera, in the region of Extremadura called La Campiña, and he knew how to read, write and count. Having learned this much, his mother sent him off to Seville at the age of ten “to the address of one of the principal merchants and dealers of the city”.<sup>35</sup> Once he had learned the ins and outs of trade and contracts in a shop in Seville, he sailed from Cadiz in the fleet bound for New Spain “in the service of a countryman”. He returned to Seville only to set off once more on a return journey to Puebla, to the house “of a rich merchant from his part of the world, called Joseph Gómez de la Parra”.<sup>36</sup> This transatlantic travel helped him to become the reasoned, careful and honourable man that his biographer describes, and refined his talent for business. It is very likely that Crance followed many of the same steps in his career,

<sup>35</sup> Andrés Velázquez, *Carta del P. Andrés Velasquez Rector del Colegio del Espíritu Santo a los PP. Superiores de los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesus de esta Provincia de Nueva-España* (s.l.: s.i., 1748), 3.

<sup>36</sup> Andrés Velázquez, *Carta del P. Andrés Velasquez Rector del Colegio...*, 4.

working in his brother-in-law's printing press and bookshop, taking care of family matters, and travelling as a way of learning more about the business. Gómez was born in 1661 and was 19 years old when Crance arrived in Puebla, so it is quite possible that they were in the city at the same time, each going about his business in buying and selling merchandise.

The merchants of Puebla were able to strengthen their relations in the city, creating a tight knit body that could defend their collective interests and which would be on public display in the local festivities. In 1675, shortly before Crance arrived in Puebla, the priest José Díaz Chamorro preached at the festival of the Inmaculada "which was held by the merchants of the city, in the convent of the Barefoot Carmelites". The priest strove to make a connection between his sermon and the activities of the merchants, and had no qualms about defining "Christ as a merchant", making a rather strained use of the rhetorical conceits typical of the Baroque period:

And as a merchant he valued God in heaven, and on earth the value of his mother. The price of Maria is Christ, who in his infinite goodness is far from our corruption ... God loved Maria in the first instant of conception to be worth heaven, the Earth, angels, mankind and Christ himself, because he knew, as a merchant does, her true value, and gave for her to be his alone all the creatures and divine riches... All the riches of God are in heaven and on earth, and He gave them all as a merchant for Maria ... And note that as a merchant, Christ bought the Church for the price of his own blood, and the Conception of Maria and the eternal redemption from sin cost the Father, like a merchant, heaven, earth, the angels, mankind and Christ for...<sup>37</sup>

It seems that redemption was the price of salvation in this priests' system of bookkeeping. This elaborate rhetorical conceit in the sermon must have been popular among the group of merchants who had worked their way into the heart of the city's life, occupying positions of responsibility in the Council and in virtue of their important services to the Crown.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> José Díaz Chamorro, *Sermon ... en la Solemne Fiesta de la Purissima Concepcion de la Santissima Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora, que celebraron los Mercaderes de esta ciudad, en el convento de Carmelitas Descalças, a onze de diziembre del año de mil y seiscientos y setenta y cinco* (Puebla de los Angeles: en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Iuan de Borja y Gandia, 1675), f. 6r.

<sup>38</sup> María de las Mercedes Gantes Tréllez, "Aspectos socio-económicos de Puebla de los Angeles (1624-1650)", in Carlos Contreras Cruz and Miguel Ángel Cuenya (eds.). *Ángeles y constructores: mitos y realidades en la historia colonial de Puebla (siglos XVI-XVII)*, (Puebla, 2000), 207-317.

Conflicts between the booksellers and the Customs and Inquisition officials were commonplace, especially when transporting their merchandise from one place to another, as each movement involved troublesome enquiries and gifts, often in the form of stock, to speed up inspections. The critical moments for the traders were their arrival at the city gates or the Customs House, embarking at the home port and again when arriving at the destination, unloading their goods, and setting up shop in a new place. When they were far from their stores and the protection of their colleagues, things could become complicated.<sup>39</sup> The booksellers of Seville were adept at defending their mutual interests, but once the boxes were sealed and stored below decks, the outcome was anything but predictable. Pedro del Castillo, a bookseller from Seville, took a cargo of books to Cartagena to sell, but when he arrived there he did not want to open the boxes for the representatives of the Holy Office, preferring instead to take them to Puertovelo, a busier port where the constant movement of cargo would make it easier for his merchandise to pass through. Toribio Medina, who reported this case, affirmed that he was “forced to pay, as a fine” the value of the books.<sup>40</sup> The dangers were always present, and some businesses may have been ruined as a result of the pressures applied by crown officials and the Inquisition. Even so, the booksellers assessed these risks and were almost certainly more afraid of shipwreck, bad debt and other businesses going bankrupt. In the case of Diego Crance, we shall try to show that his misfortune in Puebla led him to change his business strategy, which was adopted by the other members of his family, who were all engaged in the book trade; but the family did not give up buying and selling books in the following years, as we shall see from new documents.

Francisco Flores de Valdés was the representative of the Inquisition in Puebla. This agent of the Holy Office must have known of Crance's arrival, and was responsible for supervising his activities in Puebla. He had the catalogue in his hands (and a copy of the same was sent to the inquisitors of Mexico) and confiscated some of the books in the boxes that had just arrived. On 21 December 1680, Flores de Valdés wrote to the Mexican Inquisition to inform them that he had taken four books from among those brought by Diego Crance. Interestingly, he listed the books he had confiscated:

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<sup>39</sup> Natalia Maillard Álvarez, “Estrategias de los profesionales del libro sevillanos ante el Santo Oficio: entre la evasión y la colaboración”, in *El libro en circulación en el mundo moderno en España y Latinoamérica* (Madrid: Calambur, 2012), 23–44.

<sup>40</sup> José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Bogotá y la Inquisición en Cartagena de Indias* (Bogotá, 1952), 165.



I have taken the Instituta of Arnolfo Vino [Arnoldus Vinnius (1588–1657). *In quatuor libros institutionum imperialium commentarius academicus & forensis*] and three *a quartilla* [4°] volumes by Juan Bisembacho in digest [in Latin Matthaei Wesembecii, he was in fact the legal writer Matthias van Wesenbeke (1531–1586). *In Pandectas Iuris Ciuilis et Codicis Iustiniani*] and the Instituta by Schenedeiuni [Johann Schneidewein (1519–1568). *In quatuor Institutionum Imperialium Iustiniani Imp. Libros, Commentarij*] and two small books in duodecimo on Florentine history by Nicholas Macchiavelo and three octavo volumes titled *Origine iuris romani* [*De origine & progressu iuris civilis Romani auctores & fragmenta veterum jurisconsultorum*] as it has notes by Arnolfo Vino [Arnoldus Vinnius (1588–1657)]. Which by my mandate I confiscate from Diego Cranse, a bookseller who came with the recently arrived fleet under don Gaspar de Velasco, and at whose request I issue this notice in Los Angeles on the 21st of December 1680.<sup>41</sup>

The four titles mentioned were all listed in the catalogue among the books on law and the miscellaneous books. In the case of the commentaries on the Justinian Code by Vinnius and Wesembeke the works were listed under the names of the author, but the book by Machiavelli was listed in the catalogue simply as “Historia florentina” with no mention of the author’s name. Similarly, the “Origine Iuris Romani cum notis” gave no indication of the authors of the notes, so the censor had to actually see the books in order to discover this fact and confiscate the suspicious works, and keep them under his watchful eye. The agent did no more than simply confiscate the books. Cranse must have resigned himself to losing them, and concentrated on selling the remaining books from the box.

The legal works continued to circulate, and the commentaries of Vinnius were so widely appreciated that lawyers carried on reading him in spite of the opposition of the Inquisition.<sup>42</sup> The book by Arnoldus Vinnius (1588–1657), *In quatuor libros institutionum imperialium commentarius academicus & forensis*, was printed in Madrid in 1723 with a disclaimer on the title page that he was in fact one of the “authoris damnati”, an author who was listed in the indexes of the Inquisition, but that this edition was “cum expurgatione permissum”. In fact, some of these texts would be sent again from Spain for sale in Puebla on later journeys. In the *Catalogo, o memoria de libros, de todas facvltades* (Seville, 1687) Tomás López de Haro put one of these books up for sale once more, the commentaries of “Schnedewini ad Instituta”. The restrictions might stop some of the

<sup>41</sup> AGN. Inquisición, vol. 667, exp. 23, f. 344v.

<sup>42</sup> Aurelia Vargas Valencia, *Las Instituciones de Justiniano en Nueva España* (Mexico: UNAM, 2011), 113.

books from getting through, but the distribution network was well established and effective, and was able to serve customers willing to buy the works of these authors.

The ultimate goal of this movement of books was to do business, by selling a sizeable consignment and returning to Seville with precious metals. Diego Crance must have carried this out despite the problems we have seen, and he sold a great many volumes in New Spain. The money obtained in exchange was sent to Seville in the form of silver bullion, and registered with the galleons returning from Veracruz to Cadiz. This was the vital part of the Indies Trade, as the literature of the Golden Age confirmed. It was the gold and silver which transported men and merchandise across the world. One example of a shipment of silver will show how these consignments of precious metals were arranged. On 9 November 1611, Hernando Mexía, a bookseller from Seville appeared before the royal officials to pick up "a box ... containing two silver ingots". The ingots had been sent from Veracruz by the Mexican bookseller Diego de Rivera "who sent them for the books which he [Mexía] had sent".<sup>43</sup> In this case, the bookseller was lucky and received his money. In other cases, the booksellers delivered the books to the purchasers and received an acknowledgement of the debt signed before a notary. In other words, they gave the books in exchange for a promissory note, which had to be honoured on a certain date. Unpaid debts were a very serious problem for the booksellers. On his return to Seville, Diego Crance had several issues of this kind to sort out. Some of the debts from the sale of books in Puebla de los Ángeles were still outstanding in 1683. In that year, Crance signed a power of attorney to allow another merchant who was visiting Puebla to collect money from several people that was still outstanding, such as to "collect from Dr. D. Joseph de Francia Vaca, the priest of the parish of San José in the city of Los Ángeles 510 [pesos] in gold which he has promised to pay me".<sup>44</sup> This churchman had been educated in the University of Mexico and had a prominent professional career in Puebla. In 1686 he was the canon responsible for reading the holy scriptures in the church of Puebla de Los Ángeles, and his responsibilities increased over time. In 1694 he was vice-rector of the Colleges of San Pedro, San Ildefonso and San Juan in Puebla.<sup>45</sup> We do not know whether the priest did eventually pay for the books he obtained

<sup>43</sup> AGI. Contratación, 1807. Register of the arrival of the Admiral of New Spain in 1611 who came with general D. Lope Díez de Armendariz, f. 435r.

<sup>44</sup> AHPSe. Registers, leg. 8673 (oficio 14), libro 1<sup>o</sup>, f. 420r-v. 1683.

<sup>45</sup> AGI. Indiferente, 211, N. 68.

from Crance, but without this alchemy of transforming paper and ink into precious metals, the activities of these intrepid booksellers who risked their lives and property on their transatlantic adventures would have made no sense.

In the case of this 1680 catalogue, the depth and variety of the books on offer are a remarkable indication of the risks that Crance and López de Haro were taking in sending such a large consignment of books only recently printed on the presses of Europe. Crance's adventures in México did not always go as smoothly as he would have liked, but his family, along with that of López de Haro, continued their activities in the book trade with America in the last third of the seventeenth century. Crance did not publish any more catalogues after this voyage. In 1682 and 1689 it would be López de Haro who published catalogues and sold the books. The family business carried on, but the coming years would see a change in the strategies employed: from this point on, it would be merchants in the Indies Trade that would act as intermediaries and agents for the Crance and López de Haro families.



### CHAPTER THREE

## COMMUNITAS CHRISTIANA. THE SOURCES OF CHRISTIAN TRADITION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EARLY CASTILIAN SPIRITUAL LITERATURE, CA. 1400–1540\*

Rafael M. Pérez García

### *Introduction*

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars who inaugurated the study of Spanish mysticism and of the mystical writings of the sixteenth century assumed that their subject of study was something extraordinarily valuable and rare. This judgement was made possible by a certain loss of historical perspective and by a lack of the necessary sources. At a time when Spanish intellectuals were absorbed in a sharp controversy over the place of Spanish science and when the historical role of the Inquisition was still being debated,<sup>1</sup> Spanish spirituality was perceived as the work of isolated giants surrounded by a world of intellectual and spiritual darkness. This is especially the case with regard to the major figures (especially Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, Ignatius of Loyola and Louis of Granada) whose memory still shone brightly due to the prominent position they maintained, for a variety of reasons, in the Catholic Church. The ideological extremes confronted in these controversies were best exemplified by the works of Juan Antonio Llorente (*Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, 1817) and Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (*Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 1880).

It seems clear that the stereotypes of the Black Legend had settled with devastating effects.<sup>2</sup> Historiography of Spanish religious history did not

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<sup>1</sup> Ernesto y Enríque García Camarero, *La polémica de la ciencia española* (Madrid: Alianza, 1970).

<sup>2</sup> Ricardo García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra. Historia y opinión* (Madrid: Alianza, 1993).

start effectively shaking off these deeply rooted clichés until the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> That first generation of scholars and those who followed their trail until well after the Spanish Civil War stubbornly focused on a question which for them was the ultimate clue to the solution of a riddle: what were the origins of that mysticism, expressed in such sublime verse, with such unparalleled literary quality? And most importantly, how was such a thing possible in the 'black' Spain of the sixteenth century? This question, for them decisive, was nurtured by a lack of historical knowledge and by their prejudiced view of Catholic Spain as a historical-cultural, and almost barbaric, exception within the European context. On the basis of these assumptions, often adopted almost unconsciously, and also of the notions of 'influence' and 'school' as understood from the 'national' perspective of Romanticism and nineteenth century political nationalism, there emerged an explicative paradigm. The starting point of any investigation on the matter rigidly and unavoidably determined its conclusions. The comprehension of religious and literary phenomena from a nationalist point of view, which naturally assumed their individual and isolated development in each nation, was particularly grave from a research perspective. In the Europe of the 'peace through strength' period (1871–1914) an enormous reverence was felt for political frontiers and linguistic differences, which inevitably projected upon the past: historical writings often regarded these as culturally relevant factors in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, severely deforming the historicity of their results and limiting the scope of their conclusions. Spiritual authors, works and trends were consequently pigeon-holed into alleged, and mutually influential, 'national spiritual schools'. According to this overarching paradigm, the 'correct' classification of the spiritual phenomenon would help to explain the emergence of specific spiritual or mystical authors. Inevitably, this system was based on a prejudice that placed certain European regions with the ability for cultural creation in opposition to others, including Spain, where cultural production could only be explained with regard to the influence received from nations belonging to the first group.

From the nineteenth century to the present day a veritable jungle of a bibliography has been generated by a large number of scholars (historians, philologists, and theologians), all of whom embrace these assumptions to a certain degree and in different ways. Spanish spirituality has been linked

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<sup>3</sup> An exhaustive bibliographic survey in *Corrientes espirituales en la España del siglo XVI* (Barcelona: Juan Flors Editor & UPS, 1963), and Rafael M. Pérez García, *Sociología y lectura espiritual en la Castilla del Renacimiento, 1470–1560* (Madrid: FUE, 2005), 13–33.

to trends, authors and works of diverse ideological and geographical origins. Melquiades Andrés has synthesised their positions and has divided them into four major interpretive trends: first, those connecting the development of sixteenth century Spanish spirituality with Northern European influences, especially the *Devotio moderna* and the works of German and Flemish mystics; second, those stressing the 'Mediterranean', especially Italian, sources; third, those explaining Spanish mysticism on the basis of Arabic-Islamic influences, and; fourth, those linking sixteenth century Spanish spirituality with Judaism through the role played by converted Jews, to the point that some even talk of a 'converted spirituality'.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to these explanations, but without denying their contribution, M. Andrés proposes a direct link between sixteenth century Spanish spirituality and the doctrinal principles of religious orders that arrived in the Iberian Peninsula in the previous century, an idea admirably displayed in an extensive bibliography, based on the thorough study of the excellent monographs published since the mid-twentieth century.<sup>5</sup>

The first of these interpretive trends—that stressing Northern European influences—is also the most popular, especially among philologists and theologians. In this vein, Henri Watrigant identified the presence of works aligned with the *Devotio moderna* among the sources of the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* (1500), by the Benedictine García Jiménez de Cisneros, and explained the influence of this work and of the Flemish spirituality therein on Ignatius of Loyola and his *Ejercicios espirituales*.<sup>6</sup> From the

<sup>4</sup> Melquiades Andrés Martín, *Historia de la mística de la Edad de Oro en España y América* (Madrid: BAC, 1994), 203–222.

<sup>5</sup> Apart from the works by M. Andrés cited here, see also: Melquiades Andrés Martín, "La espiritualidad franciscana en España en tiempos de las Observancias (1380–1517)", *Studia historica. Historia Moderna* 6 (1988): 465–479, and "Alumbrados, erasmistas, «luteranos» y místicos, y su común denominador: el riesgo de una espiritualidad más intimista", in *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, ed. A. Alcalá et al. (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984), 373–409. Especially relevant were those works on the Franciscan order, among which we must highlight the following: Miguel Angel de Narbona, "La vie franciscaine en Espagne entre les deux couronnements de Charles-Quint ou le premier commissaire général des provinces franciscaines des Indes Occidentales", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 1 (1912): 157–214 y 345–404; 1 (1913): 167–225; 2 (1913): 1–63 y 157–216; 2 (1914): 1–62; 1 (1915): 193–253; Fidel de Ros, *Un maître de Sainte Thérèse: Le Père François d'Osuna. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituelle* (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1936); Fidel de Ros, *Un inspirateur de Sainte Thérèse. Le Frère Bernardin de Laredo* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1948); Fidel de Lejarza, "Orígenes de la descalcez franciscana", *AIA* 22 (1962): 15–131; Ángel Uribe, "Espiritualidad de la descalcez franciscana", *AIA* 22 (1962): 133–161; and Ángel Uribe and Fidel de Lejarza, *Introducción a los orígenes de la Observancia en España. Las reformas en los siglos XIV y XV*, published in *AIA* 17 (1957).

<sup>6</sup> Henri Watrigant, *Quelques promoteurs de la Méditation Méthodique au Quinzième siècle*, (Enghien, 1919).

strictly technical point of view of comparative literature Pierre Groult considered the influence of the spirituality of the Low Countries during the Spanish Golden Age, calling attention to some textual dependences but also pointing out that, if Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* and certain works by Mombaer and Rickel were known in the Iberian Peninsula towards the late fifteenth century, other important authors (such as Tauler) did not reach Spain until the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> In order to go beyond the comparative literature approach, and at the same time enriching it, Sanchís Alventosa suggested doctrinal similarities where literary ones could not be found, but with equivocal results due to the difficulty of establishing the genealogy of ideas without having access to the critical editions of the works under study.<sup>8</sup> From this point in time new contributions to these trends have mostly been in the form of case studies: for example, Martín Kelly investigated the impact of the Flemish Franciscan Hendrick Herp († 1477) on sixteenth century Spanish spirituality; Teodoro H. Martín studied the role played by Ruysbroeck; and Jean Orcibal the literary presence of Northern European mystics (especially Harphius, Ruysbroeck, Tauler and Eckhart) in the Spanish Golden Age, and most particularly in the work of John of the Cross.<sup>9</sup> Fidel de Ros had already done so with Francisco de Osuna, Bernardino de Laredo and Luis de Granada.<sup>10</sup> From an academic perspective this interpretive avenue is alive and well.<sup>11</sup>

The development of the Islamic thesis also originated in technical arguments, specifically the comparison of the texts, vocabulary and ideas of Spanish mystic *Sufis* from the twelfth-fourteenth centuries and the work of John of the Cross and Teresa of Avila. Miguel Asín Palacios's pioneering studies, originally published between 1933 and 1951, have been continued by Luce López-Baralt.<sup>12</sup> Despite its wide dissemination this idea lacks a

<sup>7</sup> Pierre Groult, *Les Mystiques des Pays-Bas et la Littérature espagnole du seizième siècle*, (Louvain: Université de Louvain, 1927).

<sup>8</sup> Joaquín Sanchís Alventosa, *La escuela mística alemana y sus relaciones con nuestros místicos del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Verdad y Vida, 1946).

<sup>9</sup> See Juan Martín Kelly, "Enrique Herp (Harphius) en las letras españolas", in Enrique Herp, *Directorio de contemplativos* (Madrid: UPS and FUE, 1974), 13–240; Teodoro H. Martín, "Introducción general", in Jan van Ruusbroec, *Obras* (Madrid: UPS and FUE, 1985), 19–182; and Jean Orcibal, *San Juan de la Cruz y los místicos renano-flamencos* (Salamanca: UPS and FUE, 1987).

<sup>10</sup> Ros, *Un maître*; Ros, *Un inspireur*; Ros, "Los místicos del Norte y fray Luis de Granada", *AIA* 7 (1947): 5–30 and 145–165.

<sup>11</sup> As shown by the recent publication of: Miguel Norbert Ubarri and Lieve Behiels, eds., *Fuentes neerlandesas de la mística española* (Madrid: Trotta, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> They were published by the journal *Al-Andalus* throughout this period. Later, they have been jointly published in Miguel Asín Palacios, *Sadilés y alumbrados*, introduction by Luce López-Baralt, (Madrid: Hipérior, 1990); and Luce López Baralt, *Huellas del Islam*



historical nexus which satisfactorily explains the transition between Muslim mystics and the two Carmelites. It also suffers from the all too obvious neglect to take into consideration the far clearer relationship with Christian sources. In my opinion, the explanation of the similarities between medieval Muslim and sixteenth-seventeenth century Christian mystics must be found in a millennium of complex cultural interaction between the two religions since their initial encounter in the seventh century.

The 'converso' theory took off after the success of Bataillon's work in 1937. This author suggested, rather imprecisely, that the contribution of converted Jews to Spanish spiritual life explained the exceptional reception to the works of Erasmus of Rotterdam in Spain.<sup>13</sup> Despite his excellent knowledge of Erasmism and of Spanish Humanism, Bataillon's acquaintance with Spanish religious history was merely superficial. This included spiritual literature, the history of religious orders, and some events of special interest in the fifteenth and the transitional period into the sixteenth centuries, for example the inquisitorial processes carried out against the so-called *Alumbrados* of Toledo.<sup>14</sup> His lack of information regarding these crucial issues was instrumental in his coining of the term 'Illuminism' to refer to the set of religious doctrines, attitudes and feelings which he assumed existed in Spain before Erasmus, and which would set an ideal religious niche favourable to the assimilation of Erasmus' ideas. In fact, Bataillon still worked under the assumption—common to all the intellectuals of his time—that Spain was an island apart from European cultural history, an atavistic land into which European ideas only penetrated with difficulty. This prejudice pushed Bataillon to seek an exogenous, or 'not typically Spanish' explanation for anything connected to modernity and progress in Spanish history; in this case, the ideas of a Dutch author interiorised through the action of a local group of converted Jews, and therefore alien to the strict and dark Catholicism of mainstream Spain.<sup>15</sup> Bataillon's support for the 'conversion' thesis was the basis of Américo Castro's highly

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en la literatura española (Madrid: Hiperión, 1985), and *San Juan de la Cruz y el Islam* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> I am using the second, corrected and augmented edition, which has been the most influential in later studies: Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966).

<sup>14</sup> As he recognised himself: Marcel Bataillon, "À propos de l'influence d'Érasme", in *Hommages à Marie Delcourt* (Bruselas: Latomus, 1970), 243–250. Published also in Spanish *Erasmus y el erasmismo* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2000), 245–253.

<sup>15</sup> These ideas are reflected in many places in his work. They are perhaps especially transparent in the conclusions of *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, written in August, 1936, during the early weeks of the Spanish Civil War. In these pages, Bataillon compared sixteenth century Erasmism with the Kraussism publicly professed by a large number of Spanish Republicans.

influential (especially among English speaking historians) work.<sup>16</sup> Despite having been solidly refuted by a historiographical bibliography on the converted Jews and on spirituality,<sup>17</sup> Américo Castro's theory is once again receiving support in the works of Laura Giordano and Stefania Pastore.<sup>18</sup>

Taking this historiographical background into account I propose the supersession of Romantic perspectives and the abandonment of the mythical question on the origins of sixteenth century Spanish mysticism, which necessarily involves drawing a more accurate historical contextualisation with the aid of the large number of documents published over the last few decades. I advocate a historical perspective which regards Western Europe between the late Middle Ages and the early sixteenth century as a cultural community of which the Iberian Christian kingdoms were full members; all nations within this West (including Castile, the Low Countries, England, and Italy), these *Christianitas*, shared the same Church and the same religious orders, had similar legal structures, participated in the same university system, and were affected laterally by movements towards religious reform. The ideas of 'influence', 'dependence', and

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He says: *'The success of both movements, after which Spain was introduced into the thought currents and concerns of civilised Europe, rested on a rich local substratum. At the same time, these movements had to overcome the stern resistance of another, stubbornly anti-European Spain; a Spain opposed to novelty and always afraid of losing its own essence. This struggle is not over. It is now taking tragic tones' ('En ambos casos, sin embargo, se trata de movimientos cuyos buenos resultados se deben a que disponían de un rico sustrato local, y de movimientos que hicieron a España participar en el pensamiento y en la esperanza comunes de la humanidad civilizada. Movimientos, asimismo, que tuvieron que empeñar lucha tenaz contra otra España tenazmente antieuropea, enemiga de las novedades, temerosa siempre de «perder su yo». La lucha no ha concluido. Está tomando formas trágicas'), (Erasmó y España, 805).* A lengthier discussion can be consulted in Rafael M. Pérez García, 'Formas interiores y exteriores de la religión en la Baja Andalucía del Renacimiento. Espiritualidad franciscana y religiosidad popular', *Hispania Sacra* 61 (2009): 587–620.

<sup>16</sup> The key ideas of Castro on Spanish spirituality were set forth in a volume entitled *Aspectos del vivir hispánico* (Santiago de Chile: Cruz del Sur, 1949), later re-published by Alianza Editorial in 1970 and 1987. See too Ronald E. Surtz and Jaime Ferrán and Daniel P. Testa, eds., *Américo Castro: The Impact of His Thought. Essays to Mark the Centenary of His Birth*, (Madison, 1988).

<sup>17</sup> Antonio Domínguez Ortiz already defined Castro's book *España en su Historia* as 'a book which is as disoriented as it is full of suggestive ideas' (*"libro tan desorbitado como lleno de sugerencias"*) (*La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: CSIC, 1955), 143). For a specific revision of Américo Castro's thesis see Rafael M. Pérez García, "El tema de la crítica al clero en la obra de Francisco de Osuna en el contexto del pensamiento católico reformista pretridentino", in *Iglesia, poder y fortuna. Clero y movilidad social en la España moderna*, ed. Enrique Soria Mesa and Antonio José Díaz Rodríguez (Granada: Comares, 2012), 139–189.

<sup>18</sup> Maria Laura Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe. Élités conversas entre Inquisición y Patronazgo en España (siglos XV y XVI)* (Madrid: FUE, 2004); Stefania Pastore, *Un'eresia spagnola. Spiritualità conversa, alumbadismo e Inquisizione (1449–1559)* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2004).

'loan' have favoured a fragmented and nationalistic approach to cultural history in Western Europe. Contradicting this view, the processes of religious renovation, the vindication of the Bible and its translation into vernacular languages, and the emergence of a new spiritual literature free from, but rooted into, the formulae inherited from the early monastic and medieval traditions, were general phenomena in this Western European cultural community. In this work I wish to suggest a more comprehensive appraisal of these factors as expressions of a wider reality in which linguistic or political barriers did not prevail; moving, in summary, beyond the traditional nationalistic perspective.

*Christian Spirituality, between Tradition and Novelty in the Fifteenth Century Iberian Peninsula. Spiritual Tradition and Religious Reform*

The reform introduced by religious orders in the Iberian Peninsula from the late fourteenth century helped to restore a spirit of discipline and observance of the respective rules with comprehensive proposals towards spiritual renovation.<sup>19</sup> These proposals were deeply rooted in the Christian tradition. Despite having some new elements more in tune with the feeling of the age, for example a growing trend towards a personal and subjective spiritual stance (expressed through the exercise of mental prayer, solitary and silent readings and meditation, in contrast with, for example, collective choral prayer),<sup>20</sup> the truth is that the repertoire of moral and spiritual works in use was clearly linked with the patristic and monastic tradition (including key figures such as Augustine, Benedict, Cassian, Climacus and Gregory) and with the great medieval reformulations of Christian spirituality: Bernard of Clairvaux, the School of Saint Victor and Franciscan spirituality, with other relevant additions such as the writings of the Dominicans. This new trend is manifested in new rules for religious life, which I shall presently examine, and in the Spanish monastic libraries, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries compiled very similar bibliographic collections to other European countries.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> José García Oro, "Conventualismo y observancia. La Reforma de las órdenes religiosas en los siglos XV y XVI", in *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, ed. Ricardo García-Villoslada (Madrid: BAC, 1980), vol. III-1<sup>o</sup>, 211–349.

<sup>20</sup> Anselmo M. Albareda, "Intorno alla scuola di orazione metodica stabilita a Monserrato dall'abate Garsias Jiménez de Cisneros (1493–1510)", *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 25 (1956): 258; and García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas* (Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1965), vol. I, 24.

<sup>21</sup> See for example Pedro M. Cátedra, "Lectura femenina en el claustro (España, siglos XIV–XVI)", in *Des femmes et des livres. France et Espagnes, XIVe–XVIIe siècle*, ed. Dominique

The rules introduced by these reformist movements came with explicit bibliographical references, in which careful instructions as to how these books should be used were also provided. The act of reading, as characterised in this writing, was highly reminiscent of traditional monastic practices; the reading of devotional books was both a good action in itself and the first step in a chain of actions (reading, meditation, prayer, contemplation). This constituted a metaphorical ladder (*Scala Paradisi*, *Scala Spiritualis*, *Scala Claustralium*), a platform from which a frequent relationship with God could be maintained.<sup>22</sup>

The renovation of monastic rules, particularly active in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, linked the benefits of reading to the occupation and the personal, moral and spiritual qualities of each brother. The *Memoriale religionis*, ordering the life of the Franciscan followers of Pedro de Villacreces (*Villacrecianos*) and written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, cautions the 'Presidente' in charge of the friars in each monastery to be vigilant with regard to collective and individual readings, whether they were necessary or accessory and not 'according to the times, customs, temptations, vices and passions',<sup>23</sup> since the moral result of reading was not so much based on the content of a good book as on the nature and moral conditions of the reader.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, each friar had to read some books and not others according to his occupation; in this regard, books for the education of preachers, confessors and 'others in some particular stations'<sup>25</sup> were not appropriate for the 'common flock'. They were not suitable for all 'because many lessons which are beneficial to some are grievous to others'.<sup>26</sup> A similar conception of reading transpired from the *Memorial de la vida y ritos de la Custodia de Santa María de los Menores* (ca. 1427),

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de Courcelles et al. (Paris: École de Chartres, 1999), 7–53; Mário Martins, "A biblioteca de Alcobaça e o seu fundo de livros espirituais", in *Estudos de Literatura Medieval* (Braga: Livraria Cruz, 1956), 257–283; and David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read. Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo and Spencer: Cistercian Publications, 1995).

<sup>22</sup> Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 371–441, and Ivan Illich, *En el viñedo del texto. Etología de la lectura: un comentario al "Didascalicon" de Hugo de San Víctor* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> 'según sus tiempos, e sazones, e tentaciones, e vicios, e pasiones'.

<sup>24</sup> '[...] because often lessons can be good or bad, not because the word given by the holy books is bad, but because the heart of the reader is corrupted' ('[...] porque muchas veces algunas lecciones, por la malicia de los corazones, pueden tanto dañar a unos como aprovechar a otros, non porque la lección de los sanctos libros sea mala, mas porque el corazón del lector o del oidor estará depravado') (*Memoriale religionis* o *Breve Memorial de los Oficios activos y contemplativos de la religión de los frailes menores*, chapter I, 688). The *Memoriale religionis* and the others 'villacrecianos' writings were published in *Introducción a los orígenes de la Observancia en España. Las reformas en los siglos XIV y XV*, in *AIA* 17 (1957).

<sup>25</sup> 'otras particulares personas y estados'.

<sup>26</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapter XII, 711.

which forbade books about marriage to avoid temptations against chastity; an analogous argument was used to declare that not all friars should be allowed to read the Bible.<sup>27</sup> This concern to ensure that each 'reader' (or 'receiver' at any rate) read or heard only what he needed and could be to his spiritual benefit explains why the *Memoriale religionis* carefully distinguishes the readings for the novices, which were at all times to be under the control of the Master of Novices, from the books for general and individual use.<sup>28</sup> Along the same lines, and recovering the Benedictine Castilian tradition of the Monastery of San Benito, Valladolid, García Jiménez de Cisneros determined in his *Liber Cereemoniarum Monasterii Beate Marie de Monteserrato* (1503–1504) that the abbot had the authority to decide which books were to be allowed each monk for his individual reading.<sup>29</sup> This decision had to be made 'according to each person's station' and according to what was 'necessary and most beneficial', warning monks that no spiritual advancement would ensue should deviation from these indications occur during their private reading time.<sup>30</sup>

The most significant readings in these fifteenth century processes of religious reforms can be divided into four categories: the Rule and other internal writings of each order;<sup>31</sup> the Hours;<sup>32</sup> the Bible;<sup>33</sup> and a significant, but not excessively varied, set of moral and spiritual books. These predilections are already anticipated in the beginnings of the

<sup>27</sup> *Memorial de la vida y ritos de la Custodia de Santa María de los Menores*, chapter III, 720.

<sup>28</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapters II, XII and XIV.

<sup>29</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, vol. I, 203–213.

<sup>30</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, "Liber Cereemoniarum Monasterii Beate Marie de Monteserrato (Costumbres y ceremonias del Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat)", chapter XXIII, in *Obras completas*, vol. II, 640.

<sup>31</sup> For the *Villacrecianos* see for example: Lope de Salazar y Salinas, *Segundas Satisfacciones*, article I, 853–861.

<sup>32</sup> With regard to the *Villacrecianos* see: *Memoriale religionis*, chapters I and XII (pages 688 and 712); *Memorial de la vida y ritos de la custodia de Santa María de los Menores*, chapter VI, 724–727; *Constituciones de la Custodia de Santa María de los Menores*, chapters V and XV (pages 755–757 and 767); *Primeras Satisfacciones*, art. 14, 848; *Testamento de fray Lope de Salinas, primer custodio desta Custodia de Sancta María de los Menores*, § 8, 901; also see, pages 620 and 647–649. For the Benedictines in Valladolid see García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, vol. I, 24; for the Hieronymites, Ignacio de Madrid, "Teoría y práctica de la lectura espiritual en la Orden de San Jerónimo", *Studia hieronymiana* 1 (1973): 139–161 and Antonio Linage Conde, "El Costumbrero de Santa María de la Victoria de Salamanca", in *La Orden de San Jerónimo y sus monasterios* (El Escorial: Ediciones escurialenses, 1999), vol. I, 205–247, and with regard to the Augustines, Isacio Rodríguez, "Ascéticos y místicos agustinos españoles del siglo XVI", in *Corrientes espirituales*, 318–319.

<sup>33</sup> The importance of the Bible and its Spanish translations for medieval culture in the Iberian Peninsula has been clearly established by Gregorio del Olmo Lete (dir.), *La Biblia en la literatura española* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta and Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla, 2008), vol. I. As an example, see the use of the Bible among the Benedictines: *Obras Completas de García Jiménez de Cisneros*, vol. II, 718–722 and 758.

reform of the *Villacrecianos* and are duly reflected in the resulting guidelines for religious life. When Pedro de Villacreces, a recent Master in Theology of the University of Salamanca, left for the Cave of Arlanza to start a new life as a hermit and thus begin his reform (around 1397–1399), he took with him only a few books: the *Regla*; the chronicles of the Franciscan order; and some patristic books.<sup>34</sup> The *Memoriale religionis* recommends,<sup>35</sup> for the introduction of novices into religious life, the reading of the ‘*holy books*’, especially ‘*a few special ones, written by very spiritual men with the due merits for it*’,<sup>36</sup> as well as ‘*ciertas doctrinas de San Bernardo*’,<sup>37</sup> the *Doctrina de los novicios* by Bonaventure, the work of the Dominican Humberto de Romanis,<sup>38</sup> and ‘*la doctrina de Juan Casiano*’ especially the fourth book *De statutis Monachorum*.<sup>39</sup> For the education of confessors it suggests the reading of ‘*holy books*’ on the Sacrament of Penitence, and of the so-called *Sacramentales* and *Sumas de casos*.<sup>40</sup> For the congregation’s collective lectures,<sup>41</sup> it suggests readings on vices and virtues, religious ceremonies and those pointing the way to leading a religious life, specifically the Gospels and some books on Franciscan rule, history-hagiography and morals: the *Regla* of Honorius ‘*and its righteous words*’;<sup>42</sup> ‘*la Regla antigua de Nuestro Padre de San Francisco que nos concedió el Papa Inocencio sin bula*’; the *Testamento* of Saint Francis; the *Flores* and the *Corónicas* of Saint Francis; the controversies between Conventuals and Spirituals of 1309–1312;<sup>43</sup> and the *Tratado de la obediencia*, which is

<sup>34</sup> Uribe and Lejarza, *Introducción*, 311.

<sup>35</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapter II, 690.

<sup>36</sup> ‘*algunos especiales que fueron fechos por varones muy espirituales y aprobados para esto*’.

<sup>37</sup> None of the known works by Saint Bernard tackles monastic discipline, but some written by other authors have been wrongly attributed to him, for example: *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei* (lib. I–II) by the Carthusian Guido V (PL 184, 307–364), the anonymous *Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione* (PL 184, 559–584), and the *Speculum Monachorum* by Arnulfus de Boeriis (PL 184, 1175–1178).

<sup>38</sup> Author of several treatises on religious life, preaching and prayer, Humberto de Romanis was appointed fifth Master General of the Dominican order in 1254, and played an important role in the consolidation of the organisation in a context in which both mendicant orders were under severe criticism (Fray Manuel Joseph de Medrano, *Historia de la Provincia de España de la Orden de Predicadores* (Madrid: Herederos de Antonio González de Reyes, 1727), volume II, Part I, book V, chapter XLV, 408–412).

<sup>39</sup> The exact title is *De coenobiorum institutis libri duodecim* (PL 49, 54–476). The book IV *De institutis renuntiantium* (PL 49, 151–202) is dedicated to the education of novices.

<sup>40</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapter XII, 710.

<sup>41</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapter XII, 711.

<sup>42</sup> The *Regla* of Honorius ‘*que prometemos con sus estrechas declaraciones*’.

<sup>43</sup> Referred to as ‘*la esclarecida disputación de los Padres antiguos de Italia sobre la Regla*’ (*Memoriale religionis*, chapter XII, 711), a controversy originated by Clement V’s bull *Exivi de paradise*, which is alluded to several times in the *Memoriale*.

also attributed to Saint Francis.<sup>44</sup> This is a markedly radical section of Franciscan literature, well in tune with the reformist spirit of Pedro de Villacreces and his disciples; these writings were recommended to be distributed for reading on Fridays. The books recommended for collective reading for the rest of the week were '*las lecciones*' of Bonaventure (perhaps the *Regula novitiorum* mentioned above), the *De statutis monachorum* by John Cassian, *De disciplina monachorum*, attributed to Saint Bernard, the *Colaciones* by Cassian, John Climacus, '*la doctrina*' by Saint Jerome, *De Patriarchis* by Richard of Saint Victor and the Bible. Apart from the latter, the reading of which was to be distributed according to the liturgy so it was read completely every three or four years '*both Testaments with attention and devotion*', all the remaining titles were to be read once a year or at least once every two years, '*with much attention and holy devotion*'. All of this literature was recommended for the exercise of the '*contemplative offices*', which were to be as follows: devout prayer, holy meditation and high-minded contemplation. For this, and before any of the aforementioned titles, the *Memoriale religionis* especially suggests the reading of Abbot Isaac, regarded as a singularly prestigious figure in Christian spiritual tradition.<sup>45</sup> His work was so highly valued that, on its recommendations for the friars' solitary readings in their cells, the *Memoriale* specially highlights Isaac's *Colación*,<sup>46</sup> as the book which the friar must '*study well*' in order to achieve '*warmth and quality*' ('*calor o calidad*') in his prayer.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, the remaining books selected for cell reading were oriented towards the practice of virtue (most particularly charity, obedience and chastity), and include the '*Tratado de San Buenaventura*', Ubertino,<sup>48</sup> Climacus, Cassian,<sup>49</sup> Saint Francis and Saint Bernard.

The repertoire of readings (and their distribution in time throughout the year) thereafter proposed in the *Memorial de la vida y ritos de la*

<sup>44</sup> As is well known, Saint Francis' work does not include this title, although references to obedience are frequent. It may have been a compilation of these (Uribe and Lejarza, *Introducción*, 711).

<sup>45</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapter XII, 710.

<sup>46</sup> This refers to Cassian's ninth and tenth '*colaciones*', entitled *De oratione*, in which the Abbot Isaac is shown to explain oration (PL 49, 769–844).

<sup>47</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapter XIV, 713.

<sup>48</sup> Was this Ubertino of Casale or, rather, the Dominican Humberto de Romanis? *Vid supra*.

<sup>49</sup> The *Collationum*: although the *Memoriale religionis* does not mention them by title, the *Memorial de la vida...*, chapter XXX, does. The latter retakes the doctrine and advise of the *Memoriale*.

*Custodia de Santa María de los Menores* is very similar to that suggested in the *Memoriale religionis*, the monthly reading of which, in fact, is also recommended here.<sup>50</sup> In summary, the list of books is aimed at directing the spiritual life of the friars, and many passages of the writings of Villacreces himself and of his disciples (such as Lope de Salazar y Salinas) insist on the rejection of study as a merely intellectual pursuit. Books should be at the service of virtue and their use should not be detrimental to the practice of poverty or to the increase of vanity,<sup>51</sup> which would result in the progressive destruction of the order, as Saint Francis had warned should happen otherwise.<sup>52</sup> Hence the eulogy of simplicity<sup>53</sup> and sanctity at the reach of the '*rústicos*'<sup>54</sup> and the '*idiotas*,'<sup>55</sup> and the insistence that books kept in monasteries should be but a few<sup>56</sup> in accordance with the spirit of poverty.<sup>57</sup> All of the good and holy books recommended were intended to improve the life of the friars by offering them a good action (devout reading) as an alternative to leisure; similarly to prayer, meditation and work.<sup>58</sup> In fact the *Villacrecianos*, following the Christian monastic tradition, regarded pious reading as a highly important and dignified activity in agreement monastic tradition. In his *Testamento* (1458), the friar Lope de Salazar y Salinas regarded the '*holy lesson of the holy books*' ('*santa lección de los santos libros*') to be greater than humility and devotion, because reading nurtures the soul. Specifically, Lope used the verbs '*breastfeed*' ('*amamantar*'), '*fatten*' ('*cebar*') and '*ruminate*' ('*rumiar*') (like the cow) to refer to reading.<sup>59</sup> These terms are an explicit reference to the words used in the Christian monastic tradition to allude to reading, for example in Cassian and Benedict, and also textually transmitted throughout the Middle Ages by the pseudo-Augustinian *Scala Paradisi* and *Scala Claustralium. Sive Tractatus de modo orandi*, written in the twelfth century by the Carthusian Guigues II.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Memorial de la vida...*, chapter XXX, 744–746.

<sup>51</sup> *Memorial de la vida...*, chapters X–XI, and *Segundas Satisfacciones*, art. 14, 732–734 and 892.

<sup>52</sup> *Memoriale religionis*, chapter II, 691.

<sup>53</sup> *Memorial de la vida...*, chapter V, 723–724.

<sup>54</sup> *Testamento de fray Lope de Salinas*, § 7, 900.

<sup>55</sup> *Segundas Satisfacciones*, articles 2 and 3, 861–867.

<sup>56</sup> *Constituciones de la Custodia*, chapters I and VI; *Segundas Satisfacciones*, 749, 758–759, 761 and 880.

<sup>57</sup> *Segundas Satisfacciones*, art. 14; *Testamento de fray Lope de Salinas*, § 8, 12 and 13, (pages 893, 901, 907 and 909).

<sup>58</sup> *Memorial de la vida*, chapter VIII; *Segundas Satisfacciones*, art. 10°. Cf. Uribe and Lejarza, *Introducción*, 730 and 881.

<sup>59</sup> *Testamento de fray Lope de Salinas*, § 16 and 17.

<sup>60</sup> See *Scala Paradisi* in PL 40, 997–1004, and *Scala Claustralium* in PL 184, 476–484.



The recommendations set forth in the rules for the monastic life of the *Villacrecianos* must not mislead us into thinking that these Franciscan friars did not read other books. In this regard, Lope de Salazar y Salinas gives a highly illustrative account of the intellectual, moral and spiritual education he received from Villacreces:

particularly, he made me study Saint Francis' old Chronicles, of devotion and of penitence, and he made me hear from his mouth, as an aid for such exercises, not only the primitive sciences and Aristotle's morals and ethics, and what the Doctors said, but also the major lessons of his *Sacra Teología*, and both *Testamentos* [the Bible], and the *Praedicabilibus*. Following him in his voyages and works, I heard his teachings and read his library, going to and fro in silence from the Council of Constance, working alongside me day and night until the day of his death and even after his death, saying something like this: listen, my son, I want you to be a man of good understanding, but not for you to put the study of what I teach you before prayer, devotion, tears, the penitence of the flesh and the growth of the soul, and for this reason I insist more on you studying Saint Francis than *Doctor Subtilis* and his *Reportaciones*.<sup>61</sup>

The prioritisation of spirituality over intellectualism thus did not stop members of the order from acquiring a solid bibliographic training, as shown by the abundant references to authors including, among others, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory, found in the writings of the *Villacrecianos*.<sup>62</sup> These works complemented the repertoire of bibliographic sources for the Castilian Franciscan reformism in the fifteenth century.

The importance ascribed to late patristic Christian literature is also clear among the Portuguese Franciscans in the second half of the fifteenth century. The small libraries in some of their northern convents (Nossa Senhora da Insua in Caminha, and S. Clemente das Penhas in Leça de

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<sup>61</sup> "fizo a mí singularmente estudar las Corónicas antiguas de San Francisco en la devoción e mortificación que pudo, e me constriñó a oír de su boca, en ayuda de dicho ejercicio, no solo las esciencias primitivas con las éticas e disciplina moral de Aristóteles, e letras sobre ellas de los santos Doctores, mas aun me constriñó a las lecciones mayores de su *Sacra Teología*, e de ambos *Testamentos* [la Biblia], e de *Praedicabilibus*; continuando con su persona todos los caminos e trabajos, e leyéndole continuamente sus estudios, e rigiéndole su persona e su gran librería, e llevándome en silencio, ida e venida, al Concilio de Constanza, e trabajando conmigo noche e día fasta su muerte, e aún después de su muerte, diciendo así o casi: cata, mozo, hijo mío, yo querría que tu fueses entendido, empero no quiero que antepongas el estudio literal, que yo te enseño, a la oración, e devoción, e lágrimas, e mortificación de la carne e potencias del alma, por lo cual te fago estudiar con más acucia a San Francisco, que non al Doctor Sutil, nin a sus *Reportaciones*" (*Primeras Satisfacciones*, art. 2°).

<sup>62</sup> Uribe and Lejarza, *Introducción*, 663–664.

Palmeira), contained—in addition to the Bible, complete or otherwise—books on spirituality such as the *Vitae Patrum* by the Pseudo-Jerome, the *Scala Paradisi* by Climacus, the *Collationes Patrum* by Cassian (in Spanish) and the *Livro do Abad Isaac*. We also find the *Meditações* and the *Soliloquio* attributed to Augustine, the *Flos Sanctorum*, the *Meditações* by Saint Bernard, a *Doctrina* by Bonaventure and the *Stimulus amoris* also attributed to this author, the *Floreto de San Francisco* (copies in Portuguese, Castilian and ‘*en lingoagem aragonês ou catalana*’), the *Revelações* by Saint Brigit, the *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony (translated into Portuguese) and a *Forma Novitiorum*, also attributed to Bonaventure but which, in fact, must have been the *Formula Novitiorum* by David of Augsburg († 1272).<sup>63</sup> We must also highlight ‘*o livro de Isaac*’, described in the 1491 library catalogue in Nossa Senhora da Insua as a ‘*leitura muy proveitosa*’. The popularity of Isaac is also confirmed by the presence of a *Liber de Contemptu Mundi* or *De vita solitaria*, of which a codex, and a fifteenth century Portuguese translation are preserved.<sup>64</sup>

*On the Impact and Dissemination of Spiritual Literature of the  
Christian Tradition in the Iberian Peninsula in the Fifteenth Century*

The impact of the traditional works of reference for Christian spirituality in the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century can also be tracked through the analysis of aristocratic and royal libraries. During this century the nobility and the crown finally took an interest in written culture, overcoming the traditional association between books and clergy.<sup>65</sup> The presence of these books, which remained the key texts for Christian spirituality of the time, must therefore be regarded as normal. New volumes on spirituality written between the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century would soon add to this basic list, especially those composed by the Catalan Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis († 1409).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> José Adriano de Freitas de Carvalho, “Libros e leituras de espiritualidade franciscanos na segunda metade do século XV em Portugal e Espanha”, *Carthaginensia* 7 (1991): 160–161 and 196–212.

<sup>64</sup> Freitas, “Libros e leituras”, 161, 199, 202 and 204; the Portuguese version is in ANTT: Cód. Alcob. CCLXX, studied by Mário Martins, “O «Livro do Desprezo do Mundo», de Isaac de Níveve, em Linguagem”, in *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, (Braga: Livraria Cruz, 1956), 201–211.

<sup>65</sup> Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 324–326; Jeremy N.H. Lawrence, “The spread of lay literacy in late medieval Castile”, *Bulletin of hispanic studies* 62 (1985): 79–94.

<sup>66</sup> The work of Sáinz Rodríguez still offers the most comprehensive overview of the new spiritual literature written in the vernacular in the Iberian Peninsula during the fourteenth

The best example of the harmonious coexistence between medieval thought, traditional Christian spirituality and the cultural transformation brought about by the recovery of the Classics, the impact of Italian Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula, and the new impulse of vernacular languages can be found in the famous library of Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398–1458). Along with a large number of Greek (Homer, Plato, Thucydides and Aristotle) and Roman Classics (including Cicero, Julius Caesar, Sallust, Ovid, Virgil, Livy, Pliny the Elder), and works from Italian Humanism (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and Leonardo Bruni, among others), the Marquis of Santillana possessed the Latin translations of *De praeparatione evangelica* by Eusebius, the *Sermons* by Augustine and the *Homiliae* by John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew and the Psalms, among others. We are, however, particularly interested in his *De Consolatione* by Boethius (one copy in Latin and another in Spanish, along with a *Comentarios sobre Boecio* written in Spanish by Pedro de Valladolid), a *De vita beata* by Augustine, also in Spanish, four copies of the Spanish translation (by his relative the Chancellor Pero López de Ayala) of the *Morales sobre el libro de Job* by Gregory, the Spanish translation of several moral works by Ambrose and, of course, the *Collationes patrum* by John Cassian. Among more recent Christian authors, and apart from the popular *Leyenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, he owned several writings by Francesc Eiximinis: a *Doctrina de viure a cascuna persona*, and a Spanish version of his *Natura angelica*, expressly translated for the Marquis. Finally, we must highlight the presence in his library of two Latin Bibles, a third one with glosses and the prologues of Jerome, alongside two Gospels, Paul's letters in Spanish, a translation of Nicolao de Lira's *Postillae* on several Old Testament books, and a *Summa sobre el viejo y nuevo Testamento*, also by Lira.<sup>67</sup> The presence of Latin or Spanish translations of the Bible became common in aristocratic libraries from this time up to the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

As we shall see, regarding religious texts Santillana's library is a typical example of aristocratic libraries up to the early decades of the sixteenth century. The library created in 1455 by the Count of Haro in Medina de Pomar included, apart from the Bible, the *Epístolas* by Jerome, the *Soliloquium animae ad Deum*, attributed to Augustine, *Homilliae* by

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and fifteenth centuries. See Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, *Antología de la literatura espiritual española* (Madrid: UPS and FUE, 1980), vol. I: "Edad Media".

<sup>67</sup> Mario Schiff, *La bibliothèque du marquis de Santillane* (Paris, 1905).

<sup>68</sup> Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 305–316.

Chrysostom, *Tratado de S. Bernardo sobre amar a Dios, Liber meditationum supra passionem Christi* by Bonaventure and a *Tratado pequeño del Estímulo amoris in Christum*. Also of special interest are compilations of fragments of moral and spiritual value. These compilations, which remain little known at this stage, played a crucial role in cultural transmission, including patristic and monastic writings: for example, a book entitled *Vademecum de dichos de Santos, y otras sentencias* contained fragments from the Bible, non-religious authors (Aristotle, Seneca, Terence), letters, prologues, and a varied miscellanea of texts, often of spurious authorship but also including a two-page text in French with an extract from the *Dichos de las contemplaciones de San Agustín*. Monastic culture was represented by an 82-page Latin manuscript including *Las exhortaciones de los Santos Padres para provecho de los religiosos*, and various legends about the Virgin Mary previously compiled by Alfonso X for his *Cantigas*. Finally, the Count of Haro's library also included some contemporary moral titles such as the *Sacramental* by Clemente Sánchez de Vercial, a very popular work in previous decades.<sup>69</sup> The library of Alvar Pérez de Guzmán, lord of Orgaz († 1482) contained the *Diálogos de San Gregorio*, *Los Morales de Sant Gregorio sobre Job*, a *Manual de San Agustín*, and another title by Jerome. For his part, the first Count of Oropesa, Don Fernando Álvarez de Toledo († 1504), had a handwritten Bible, a *Vida Christiana* by San Agustín, a *Vitae Patrum*, a *De Consolación* by Boethius, the *Natura Angelica* by Eiximenis, and a printed copy of the *Lucero de la vida cristiana* de Pedro Ximénez de Próxano.<sup>70</sup>

Royal and aristocratic libraries were very similar with regard to religious texts. The library of Queen Maria of Aragón (1401–1458), consort of King Alfonso V the Magnanimous († 1458), contained a collection of traditional spiritual works with a strong stress on the patristic: three copies of the *Collationes* by Cassian (two in Catalan and one in Spanish); the *Vitae patrum*; the *Diálogos*, the *Morales* and the *Homiliae* by Gregory; the *Llibre dels sants pares hermitans*; and two copies of the homilies of Abbot Isaac

<sup>69</sup> A. Paz y Meliá, "Biblioteca fundada por el Conde de Haro en 1455", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 1 (1897): 18–24 and 60–66; Jeremy N.H. Lawrence, "Nueva luz sobre la biblioteca del Conde de Haro: inventario de 1455", *El Crotalón: Anuario de Filología Española* 1 (1984): 1073–1111. See too Patricia Cañizares Ferriz, "Edición y estudio de un florilegio del Vademecum de la biblioteca del conde de Haro", *Revue d'histoire des textes* 5 (2010): 199–230.

<sup>70</sup> Isabel Beceiro Pita and Alfonso Franco Silva, "Cultura nobiliar y bibliotecas. Cinco ejemplos, de las postrimerías del siglo XIV a mediados del siglo XVI", *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 12 (1985), 325 and 329–331.

of Nineveh entitled *De l'ànima e de certes virtuts de vida* and *Libre appellat Abbat Isaac*. Along with these, Queen Maria possessed *De la vida de Jesucrist de Bonaventura*, the *Flos sanctorum*, three works by the Catalan Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis, the *Exercitatorium mentis ad Deum* by the Valencian Augustine Bernat Oliver († 1348), and Antonio Canals's version of the *Soliloquium de arrha animae* by Hugh of Saint Victor. As might be expected, there were some Italian titles, for example the *Libre e doctrina de la molt virtuosa dona sancta Angela de Foligno*, the *Libre appellat Sancta Catarina de Sena* and two copies in Catalan of *Spill de la Creu* (translation of *Specchio della Croce*), and *De pasciència* by the Italian Dominican Domenico Cavalca. Both the *Specchio* and a Catalan version of *De consolatione* by Boethius and other religious volumes had been provided by the monks in Montserrat, a monastery with which Queen Maria maintained a fluent relationship.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, the interest shown by the Catalan-Aragonese crown in this sort of literature throughout the Late Middle Ages was related to the crown's close connection with spiritual movements of Franciscan inspiration in the Mediterranean.<sup>72</sup>

Religious books were not the only manifestation of the interest shown by laypersons in the cultivated spirituality that emerged from the cloister in the fifteenth century. The impacts of the new reformist religious climate on society are also, for example, reflected in the spiritual inquisitiveness shown by a Castilian noble, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, lord of Batres (ca. 1377–1460), a prominent member of the Mendoza family and a fine representative of its peculiar cultural tradition: Pérez de Guzmán was the nephew of the Chancellor Pero López de Ayala, uncle of the Marquis of Santillana, and great-grandfather of the poet Garcilaso de la Vega.<sup>73</sup> In his *Coplas*, also known as *Las Setecientas*, he created a veritable catechism in verse, covering the virtues and the vices, the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria*, the Commandments, the Seven Capital Sins and the Seven Works of Mercy, among other topics. These verses include *De vida activa e contemplativa*, clarifying the relationship between these two ways of living<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Albareda, "Intorno alla scuola", 262–263; Cebrià Baraut, "Els manuscrits de l'antiga biblioteca del monestir de Montserrat (segles XI–XVIII)", *Analecta Montserratensia* 8 (1955): 340–341.

<sup>72</sup> José Pou y Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)* (Alicante: Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1996).

<sup>73</sup> On this family see Helen Nader, *The Mendoza family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350–1550* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1979).

<sup>74</sup> 'The active life is a ladder/and a way to go/out and see/the truthful and bright light/because I say that the career/of the man that truly wishes/even if is not the best/at least it will

with references to the Old (Raquel and Leah) and New Testament (Martha and Mary), similes used for centuries by the Christian tradition to illustrate this question.<sup>75</sup> In another of his works, a historical miscellany, Pérez de Guzmán recognised the transcendental historical role played by Saint Dominic and Francis of Assisi '*as two bright luminaries to light the world in darkness*'<sup>76</sup> and the religious orders that they founded '*as two bright lights changing the world with words and with deeds*'.<sup>77</sup> Of even greater interest is the question addressed by Pérez de Guzmán to Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos and one of the key intellectuals of the period, in 1454.<sup>78</sup> In his letter, Pérez de Guzmán asked about one of the burning issues of the day, '*the attentive prayer*' ('*la oración especialmente atenta*'), and its relationship with other acts of virtue such as charity, fasting, chastity, silence, peregrinations and listening to sermons,<sup>79</sup> which in the Middle Ages had been at the core of European Christian practice. In his question, Pérez de Guzmán shows a good knowledge of the arguments used in the theological debate around prayer: if it was meritorious, if it had to be followed attentively and if it was better than the other actions. Medieval theologians had discussed these issues intensively,<sup>80</sup> and the debate was renewed in mid-fifteenth century Castile. Alonso de Cartagena's reply was not merely a letter, but a book entitled *Oracional de Ferrand Pérez*, the first systematic treatise on prayer in Spanish.<sup>81</sup> Starting with the Fathers and the Doctors, Cartagena deploys the doctrine of knowledge adopted by medieval theology to explain the way to know God and to connect with

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*be the first*' ('*La activa es escalera / e gradas para pujar / e salir a contemplar / la luz clara e verdadera / pues digo que la carrera / que lleva ombre do desseja / puesto que mejor no sea / a lo menos es primera*').

<sup>75</sup> Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Las Setecientas* (Sevilla, 1506), facsimile edition, (Valencia, 1965).

<sup>76</sup> '*dos lumbreras muy claras para alumbrar el mundo que era en tinieblas*'.

<sup>77</sup> '*por exemplo e por palabras alumbran e esclarecen el mundo*', in Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Mar de historias*, preliminary note by Joaquín Rodríguez Arzúa, (Madrid: Atlas, 1944), 207.

<sup>78</sup> The bibliography on Alonso de Cartagena is extensive. See especially Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena. Obispos de Burgos, gobernantes, diplomáticos y escritores* (Madrid: CSIC, 1942); Ottavio di Camillo, *El humanismo castellano del siglo XV* (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1976); and Luis Fernández Gallardo, *Alonso de Cartagena (1385–1456): una biografía política en la Castilla del siglo XV* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002).

<sup>79</sup> The text of the question was published in Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, edition, introduction and notes by J. Domínguez Bordona, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1965), 217–221.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II-II, qq. 12, 13 and 16.

<sup>81</sup> *El «Oracional» de Alonso de Cartagena*, critical edition by Silvia González-Quevedo Alonso, (Valencia: Albatros Hispanófila, 1983).

him.<sup>82</sup> Prayer, either by ordained or lay persons, makes sense only within these principles. He then presents a systematic treatise of virtues (chapters II–XXII) in order to find the place of religious virtue in the building of moral theology; prayer is presented as an interior act of religious virtue. Chapters XXIII to XLIX are a comprehensive treatise on prayer including the analysis of its conception, its form, its excellence over and above other meritorious acts, and its rewards. The contents of Cartagena's text, clearly inspired by Christian tradition and the theological debates around prayer, are not particularly original. This is clearly shown by the standard way in which the topic is presented, starting with the *Pater noster* (chapters XXVIII–XXX) and with the approach to controversy around the need to vocalise prayer (chapter XXXI), which was still in full swing in sixteenth century Spain. On this specific point (and on others) Cartagena simply translates Aquinas' words in answering the question '*Whether prayer should be vocal?*' It is interesting that when using Aquinas as a source, Cartagena often does not cite him: in these cases he simply copies. This does not, however, invalidate his answer, because his purpose is to disseminate a specific doctrine on prayer. In this regard, while it seems that the '*communal*' ('*común*') prayer in church needs to be performed '*aloud*' ('*en alta voz*'), personal prayer '*does not need a voice or words, but the elevation of our heart to God*' ('*non es necesario que aya voz o palabra, ca basta la elevación del corazón en Dios*').<sup>83</sup> The *Ultílogo* with which Cartagena closes his *Oracional* is of special value for Castilian mysticism, because he completes his comprehensive argumentation on prayer with the Christian doctrine of illumination, by which God presents himself to the man who wishes to reach him, and the usual qualities of knowledge have to be temporally suspended. Cartagena's words are irreplaceable:

... sometimes, the eyes of understanding see through prayer what the eyes of the body see at night. What we see on some summer nights, with great bolts of lightning and black clouds, and the lightning turns the darkness of our room into light, and by the time the eyes want to understand, the light has gone as fast as it came. And the chamber is again as dark as it was before. ... But if sometime you prayed to God with attentive devotion and in some remote corner you sighed for a remedy to your anguish, all of a sudden you felt a light in your understanding and your heart widened with the light that wiped the darkness away ... Our Lord comes to man when he prays with devotion, in the shape of a bolt of lightning that suddenly penetrates the

<sup>82</sup> On this theory of knowledge see Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 39–121.

<sup>83</sup> Cartagena, *Oracional*, chapter XXXI, 136–138. Cf. Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, II-II, q. 83, a. 12.

soul. The more man prays, the longer his soul will be open for ... whatever the place, the Christian must pray as much as possible, and make it a custom of his. The sweetness so acquired is the source of durable happiness.<sup>84</sup>

Alonso de Cartagena's doctrine is perfectly orthodox with regard to the Christian spiritual and mystical tradition, and it is explicit about this. In contrast, the determination to disseminate it to all members of society by using Spanish texts<sup>85</sup> was part of a new global trend towards the aperture of the typically medieval and ecclesiastical framework for the management of knowledge.<sup>86</sup> Regarding spirituality, the translation of the traditional works of reference, the publication of critical editions in vernacular language and their distribution not only to clergymen but also to lay persons, were major changes from the Church's presentation of Christian practice to medieval society. As we can see, this new approach was fully accomplished in the Iberian Peninsula by the mid-fifteenth century. There is little doubt that the development of the doctrine defending the perfection of charity over the perfection of the 'religious state', advocated by Thomas Aquinas among others, had played a determinant role in the generalisation of the new perspective and in the supersession of the early medieval ideal which so disproportionately favoured the clerical over the lay life.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> "[...] acaesçe a las vezes en la oraçión a los ojos del entendimiento lo que en algunas noches veemos acaesçer a los ojos del cuerpo. Ca bien vistes si se vos mienbra e non dudamos que se vos menbrará en alguna de las breves noches del ardiente verano que propiamente fablando *estio* sse llama, grandes turbones e truenos en uno con ellos e de espaçio en espaçio algunos luzientes relanpagos que entran a las vezes por la finiestra el fulgurante relanpago que torna la camara clara de claridat muy graçiosa e quando los ojos quieren entender e mirar en ella pártesse tan de rebato commo de rebato entró. E queda la cámara escura commo estava de primero [...] Pero segund creo que mirastes quando con algund tanto con actenta devoçión en algund lugar apartado suspirastes a Dios pidiendo remedio en vuestras angustias que sentiriades una manera de claridad en vuestro entendimiento e anchura en el coraçón que viene a desora e consuela algund poco e de arrebató sse parte e tórname omne en el primero turbón [...] que Nuestro Señor viene en el omne quando con devota oraçión a Él sse recorre que viene con la claridat de su consolación commo una luz fulgurante a desora e pártesse a las vezes a desora e ayna. Pero tanto más dura quanto más el orante la finiestra de su coraçón tiene abierta [...] en qualquier espaçio que venga mucho deve fazer el orante por lo detener e aun si podiere prenderlo por fuerça prendiendo a sy mesmo en uno con ello e frequentarlo e traerlo en costumbre. Ca inestimabile es la dulçura que dello proçede que es commo muestra e comienço de la perdurable alegría" (Cartagena, *Oracional*, 203–205).

<sup>85</sup> 'It seems convenient to respond in a language that everybody can understand' ('convenible paresçe que se responda en lengua que se entienda por todos'), in Cartagena, *Oracional*, 46.

<sup>86</sup> Jacques Verger, *Les gens du savoir en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1997).

<sup>87</sup> Rafael M. Pérez García, "Pensamiento teológico y movimientos espirituales en el siglo XVI", in *Historia del cristianismo*, coord. Antonio Luis Cortés Peña, (Madrid: Editorial Trotta



*The Age of the Catholic Monarchs*

Monastic reform gained in intensity during the late fifteenth century, the time of the Catholic Monarchs.<sup>88</sup> The repertoire of books recommended by Hernando de Talavera during his time as Bishop of Avila, between 1485 and 1492, to the Cistercian nuns in the city included the original provision that all readings must be carried out in the vernacular, so they could be easily understood by all, and all could in consequence profit from their teachings. Regarding the titles he was, however, conservative. The book list is as follows: the New Testament, most particularly the Gospels, and some books from the Old Testament ('*los cinco libros de Salomón*', Tobias, Esther and Judith); the lives of the saints; the *Morales* and the *Diálogos* by Gregory; the *Vida de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo* by Eiximenis, and also his *De natura angelica* and *De las donas*; '*el libro que escribió San Buenaventura de cómo los novicios han de ser enseñados en la santa religión*' (he was referring to the *Formula novitiorum* by David of Augsburg); '*el libro que enseña cómo se han de haber los religiosos en todo lugar y en todo tiempo y en toda ocupación*'; '*el libro que enseña cómo se ha de guardar el corazón, que es un libro muy provechoso*'; '*la Regla que escribió el glorioso mi padre san Hierónimo a la santa virgen Eustoquio y la Epístola que le escribió*'; the book written by Saint Bernard '*a su santa hermana Florentina*';<sup>89</sup> '*el libro que escribió San Agustín de la vida del cristiano*'; the *Espejo del pecador*; the *Soliloquio*; '*las oraciones de los Padres y de las Instituciones de los monjes*' (by Cassian); *Espejo de los legos*, '*y otros libros devotos y provechosos para mejorar vuestras conciencias*'. Talavera recommended these books for collective readings during meals, the nuns maintaining silence and an attentive heart and ears, but also for other times of the day, such as following the prayer of Compline and before going to bed. In addition, he also recommended the reading of some personal book during free periods saying that those nuns who could read should have '*some familiar book for her to read in her idle moments, and with which she can read to those that cannot*'.<sup>90</sup>

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and Universidad de Granada, 2006), vol. III, 61–63; and Rafael M. Pérez García, "El argumento histórico acerca de la transmisión de la Teología Mística y la autoridad de Dionisio Areopagita en la España del siglo XVI", forthcoming.

<sup>88</sup> José García Oro, *La reforma de los religiosos españoles en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos* (Valladolid: Instituto "Isabel la Católica" de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969).

<sup>89</sup> This must be a mistake, because Saint Bernard's sister was called Humbeline. He was probably referring to the *Liber de Modo Bene Vivendi* (PL 184, 1199–1306), which was attributed to the saint, but the true authorship of which is uncertain.

<sup>90</sup> '*algún libro consigo muy familiarmente en que a menudo lea los tiempos que vagare y en el que lea a las que no saben leer*', in Hernando de Talavera, *De cómo han de vivir las*

The traditional hue of the Christian cultural tradition brought to a new life by the monastic reform in fifteenth century Spain is also shown by the Benedictine observance built around the monastery of San Benito (the '*Congregación de San Benito*'), in Valladolid.<sup>91</sup> Despite the relationship between this order and other European reformist movements, such as the *Congregatio Monachorum de observantia Santa Justinae*, also Benedictine and promoted by Bishop Ludovico Barbo († 1443) in Italy, the original drive of the Castilian Benedictine spirituality does not seem to depend on the importation of any foreign influence (for example, the *Devotio moderna*, in the Low Countries); and the impact of Barbo's *Formula orationis et meditationis* seems in fact to have been rather late (sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century).<sup>92</sup> The sources of the movement seem to be traditional in character: the books used for spiritual exercises throughout the fifteenth century included the *Collationes* by Cassian, *Institutio Monachorum*, by Basil, *Vitae Patrum* and other works by Augustine (including the *Confesiones*), Gregory (*Moralia in Iob*) and Saint Bernard, along with—of course—the Bible.<sup>93</sup> The traditional nature of these sources is further reflected by the *Tratado del Espíritu Santo*, written around 1497–1499 by Juan de San Juan de Luz († 1499), Prior General of this Benedictine branch between 1488–1497 and first reformer of Montserrat.<sup>94</sup> This little book, circulated only in hand written Latin, explains the preparation of the soul for the Holy Ghost, and the effects that its arrival would have on said soul. Juan de San Juan de Luz explained the nuptial mysticism conveyed by the biblical *Song of Songs* by way of the Christian tradition. Despite the original presentation of the topic and the borrowing of some ideas from Nicholas Kempf's *Alphabetum divini amoris*, Gerson's *Sermones de Spiritu Santo*, and some of Dionisio the Carthusian's sermons, Juan de San Juan Luz depends primarily on the Holy Script and on the favourite sources of the Benedictines of Valladolid (including Augustine, Cassian, and Gregory), following Saint Bernard

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*monjas de San Bernardo en sus monasterios de Ávila*, chapter VII. This text had been published in Olegario González Hernández, "Fray Hernando de Talavera. Un aspecto nuevo de su personalidad", *Hispania Sacra* 13 (1960): 143–174.

<sup>91</sup> On the origins and the primitive rule of the Valladolid order see García M. Colombás and Mateo M. Gost, *Estudios sobre el primer siglo de San Benito de Valladolid* (Montserrat, 1954).

<sup>92</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, vol. I, 8–13.

<sup>93</sup> Ernesto Zaragoza Pascual, "Libros que alimentaban la vida espiritual de los benedictinos vallisoletanos del siglo XV", *Nova et Vetera* 4 (1977): 267–279.

<sup>94</sup> On Juan de San Juan de Luz, see Ernesto Zaragoza Pascual, "Abadologio del Monasterio de San Benito el Real de Valladolid (1390–1835)", *Investigaciones históricas* 23 (2003): 212.

(*Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*) and Richard of Saint Victor (*Explicatio in Canticum Salomonis*) with regard to mysticism, and Thomas Aquinas, for whom he felt enormous devotion, in the field of theology. In addition, he also shows interest in other works, such as Guigues II's *Scala Claustralium*, mentioned in his fourth chapter.<sup>95</sup>

When the principles of the observant branch in Valladolid were made extensive to the important monastery of Montserrat in 1493, under the influence of Juan de San Juan de Luz and of Friar García Jiménez de Cisneros (who would be the head of this house until his death in 1510) the traditional character of the recommended readings was once more made very obvious. In fact, from the time of its foundation in the eleventh century, Cassian's *Collationes*, the *Vitae patrum* and some patristic commentaries on the Bible had been in the monastery's library, as their reading was prescribed by Benedict's *Regula Monachorum*.<sup>96</sup> This is also shown by the *Constituciones de los monjes*,<sup>97</sup> and by the *Liber Ceremoniarum Monasterii Beate Marie de Monteserrato*, composed by García de Cisneros himself. The latter includes a list of recommendations for Lent. In a ceremony celebrated on the second week after the first Sunday of Lent, the monks met in Chapter with all the books they had been given during the previous year. In the course of the ceremony the leading preacher read the names of the monks and the title of their respective books, while the monks placed said books in front of the abbot, who ordered each of them to be given '*whichever book is deemed convenient for the ability of each*'.<sup>98</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros created three categories of books, based on the traditional patristic nomenclature reflecting the three ages of spiritual life (beginners, 'proficients' and perfects), which he himself reproduced in *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* (1500). For the beginners he recommended the Rule of Benedict, and three of the books which, as we shall see below, he had printed: the *De Spiritualibus ascensionibus* (by Gerard of Zutphen), the *Directorio de las horas canónicas* and the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual*. In Cisneros's opinion these books were essential for the monks' spiritual training: '*it is mandatory for the monks to be practical and to know by heart their meditation exercises and prayers and their texts teaching the principles of contemplation, purgation, illumination and union, until*

<sup>95</sup> Juan de S. Juan de Luz, *Tratado del Espíritu Santo*, introduction, transcription, edition, and notes by Ernesto Pascual Zaragoza, Ediciones Monte Casino, Zamora, 1978, 27–30 y 130.

<sup>96</sup> Cebrià Baraut, 'Els manuscrits...', 339.

<sup>97</sup> *Constituciones de los monjes*, chapter VI, in *Obras Completas*, vol. II, 519–523.

<sup>98</sup> '*el libro que juzgare que le conviene, según la habilidad de cada uno*'.

they know all this both in practice and theory; and no other books should be allowed, because without these principles everything else is in vain and the spiritual life with which they are engaged will be useless'.<sup>99</sup> The second level was for those monks who had successfully gone through the first stage. The prescribed readings laid a strong stress on exegesis and morals. Two book categories were contemplated: works commentating on the Psalms and the Hours, for example Augustine's *Quinquagenas* on the Psalter, 'in which they must exercise with attention, because they contain all the science of the Holy Scripts'; and works on the correct way to administer the sacrament of confession, such as the *Suma Antonina que appellatur «Defecerunt»* (by the Dominican Antoninus of Florence, † 1459) and the *Preceptorium*, by another Dominican, Johannes Nider († 1438). Finally, the third 'age' included a series of books defined as 'moral and devotional' ('*morales y que mueven a devoción*') and which the monks could keep in their cells: the *Vita Christi* by Ubertino of Casale († 1330), *Vitas patrum*, *Collationes patrum*, the *Morales* by Gregory, *Opuscula beati Bernardi*, Climacus, 'la segunda parte de los Opúsculos de san Buenaventura', *Forma noviciorum* attributed to Bonaventure, *De eruditione religiosorum*, 'and other similar ones, which the Abbot must chose according to the abilities of each one',<sup>100</sup> a piece of advice that García de Cisneros reproduced from Benedict's *Regula monachorum* (Chapter 49).<sup>101</sup>

### First Conclusions

The examination of the processes of religious reform and of fifteenth century libraries in the Iberian Peninsula reveals that the region was part of a common Western European cultural and religious system that went beyond political and linguistic barriers. In the whole of Western Europe during the fifteenth century, spirituality was based on the same *corpus* of Christian spiritual literature, inherited from Antiquity and enhanced throughout the Middle Ages. In addition, works written in the vernacular

<sup>99</sup> 'en lo qual es muy necesario que los monjes sean bien prácticos, y sepan muy bien de coro todos aquellos exercicios de meditar, orar y contemplar, y de las vías purgativa, illuminativa y unitiva; y hasta que esto sepan muy bien assí por práctica como por theórica, no les sea permitido leer ni estudiar otra cosa, porque sin estos principios e fundamentos todo lo otro es vano, y nunca podrán aprovechar en la vida spiritual a la qual somos dedicados'.

<sup>100</sup> 'y otros semejantes, o aquellos que, según el estado de cada uno, el abbad juzgare ser necessario y más provechoso'.

<sup>101</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, "Costumbres y Ceremonias del Monasterio de Nuestra Señora Montserrat", chapter 22, in *Obras Completas*, vol. II, 637–640.

also circulated and were freely read in every kingdom. As shown by the work of Freitas Carvalho, in the late fifteenth century most books in Franciscan libraries in northern Portugal were written in Spanish, and the *Floreto de San Francisco*, an important compilation of Franciscan legends and sources printed in Seville in 1492, was widely distributed in Portugal.<sup>102</sup> Cavalca's *Specchio* was not only translated into Catalan, but also into Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>103</sup> The *Tratado de la vida spiritual*, by the Valencian Dominican San Vicente Ferrer († 1419) was translated into Spanish at an early date,<sup>104</sup> as were the works of the Catalanian Eiximenis, which were widely disseminated throughout the Peninsula in the fifteenth century; showing his prestige, Talavera remembered him as '*santo fraile menor*'.<sup>105</sup> By the time García Jiménez de Cisneros imposed the new Benedictine rules in Montserrat he had already read Eiximenis in Spanish, using him amply as a source for his own spiritual works, written in Spanish despite being based in Catalonia. These examples show the fluency with which cultural loans circulated in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>106</sup>

It is still necessary to stress that the Iberian Peninsula was no exception in the European West: not only because it was possible to access Italian and French texts, but also because the processes of religious reform underway were common to the whole region. Indeed, the reformation of the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustine and Benedictine orders occurred simultaneously in Portugal, Castile and Aragon, Italy, France and the Low Countries. The plentiful evidence accumulated by historiography to this effect<sup>107</sup> suffices to finally inter the traditional approach and its obsession

<sup>102</sup> Freitas, "Libros e leituras", 170–171, 176–186 and 196–220. See also Juana María Arcelus, *Floreto de Sant Francisco* (Madrid: FUE and UPS, 1998).

<sup>103</sup> Mario Damonte, 'Una traduzione spagnola quattrocentesca dello *Specchio di Croce* di Fra'Domenico Cavalca', *Atti dell'Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere*, 33 (1977), 215–222; and Mário Martins, "O «Espelho da Cruz» de Frei Domingos Cavalca", in *Estudos de Literatura Medieval*, (Braga: Livraria Cruz, 1956), 157–158.

<sup>104</sup> Cebrià Baraut, "Fragmentos de una versión castellana cuatrocentista del *Tractatus de vita spirituali* de San Vicente Ferrer", *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis* 32 (1960): 213–228.

<sup>105</sup> González, 'Fray Hernando', 157.

<sup>106</sup> Cebrià Baraut, "L'Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual de García de Cisneros et le *Tractat de contemplació* de Francesc Eiximenis", *Studia monastica* 2 (1960): 233–265.

<sup>107</sup> The bibliography is abundant and impossible to cite here in full. I shall only mention a few relevant titles for our argument. On the relationship between Spain and Italy see Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Historia de la reforma de la Provincia de España (1450–1550)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1939), and *Las corrientes de espiritualidad entre los dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI* (Salamanca, 1941); Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, "Influencia de los místicos italianos en España", *Espiritualidad española* (Madrid: Rialp, 1961), 73–109, and Eugenio Asensio, "El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales afines", *Revista de Filología Española* 36 (1952): 31–99. On the relationship between Spain and Portugal see for example Mário Martins, "Repercussões em Portugal das correntes

with detecting mutual national influences in the fields of culture and religion. It is high time to develop a comprehensive approach aimed at understanding this process as a set of religious phenomena originally emerging from a limited number of nuclei, but soon transforming into a complex and sometimes conflictive network of contacts, convergences and connections developing towards the transformation and modernisation of traditional Christian spirituality. It must be clearly understood that the international character of these religious orders and their ecclesiastical dependence on Rome were key elements in the legitimisation and legal endorsement of these processes of reform. As we have already seen, the readings of Iberian reformist orders combined traditional texts with recent European works translated into Spanish, Catalan or Portuguese. Similarly, Castilian or Catalan authors were translated into other European languages and had a significant impact in the continent in the following decades.<sup>108</sup> In the field of theology, ecclesiastical libraries in the Iberian Peninsula were in the Late Middle Ages and the beginning of the 16th century fully in tune with the evolution of the discipline in the Catholic world at large, including all works, authors and schools.<sup>109</sup> This

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espirituais espanholas no séc. XVI", in *Corrientes espirituales*, 561–567, and also José García Oro, "El elemento español en las reformas portuguesas pretridentinas", *Compostellanum* 15 (1970): 559–591, and Álvaro Hueriga, *Historia de los alumbrados (1570–1630)* (Madrid: FUE, 1978), vol. I, and Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, *Luis de Montoya, un reformador castellano en Portugal* (Madrid: Editorial Agustiniiana, 2008). Some interesting monographs include: Katherine Walsh, *The Observant Congregations of the Augustinian Friars in Italy, ca. 1385–ca. 1465* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1973), and Luis Álvarez Gutiérrez, *El movimiento "observante" agustiniano en España y su culminación en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos* (Rome: Ed. Analecta Augustiniana, 1978).

<sup>108</sup> Andrés, *Historia de la mística*, 153–201. Some case studies include: Fidel de Ros, "Fray Alonso de Madrid, O.F.M. Educador de la voluntad y doctor del puro amor", in *Corrientes espirituales*, 293–296; García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras Completas*, vol. I, XI–XV, 45–46 and 160–169; and Mariano Quirós García, *Francisco de Osuna y la imprenta (Catálogo Bibliográfico)* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2010).

<sup>109</sup> The bibliography on this issue is plentiful. For a few examples, see: Isaac Vázquez, "Manuscritos de San Ramón de Penyafort y de otros dominicos medievales en la antigua biblioteca de San Juan de los Reyes de Toledo", *Escritos del Vedat* 7 (1977): 239–257; Nicolás López Martínez, "La biblioteca de D. Luis de Acuña en 1496", *Hispania* 20 (1960): 81–110; Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, "La antigua biblioteca de la catedral de Salamanca", *Hispania Sacra* 14 (1961): 281–319; Pedro M. Cátedra, "La biblioteca de la Universidad de Toledo (siglo XVI)", *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81 (2004): 927–972; Gonzalo Martínez Díaz, "Dos catálogos inéditos de la biblioteca del monasterio de Ripoll", *Hispania Sacra* 22 (1969): 333–423; María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, *El mundo del libro en la Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla en el siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992); the book list of archbishop Hernando de Talavera was published in María Julieta Vega García-Ferrer, *Fray Hernando de Talavera y Granada*, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 226–246.

was also shown by the foundation of the University of Alcalá by Cardinal Cisneros and the creation in 1508 of a three-way system for the study of theology (Thomism, Scotism, and Nominalism),<sup>110</sup> and by the Spanish presence at the University of Paris.<sup>111</sup>

In addition, it is clear that the phenomenon of inherited translation was not limited to non-religious Latin and Greek authors<sup>112</sup> but also had a significant effect in the translation of the major works of the Christian traditional spirituality into vernacular languages.<sup>113</sup> This is shown by the books present in monastic libraries and by the recommendations set forth by the reformers. Finally, the fact that the translation of major spiritual works was also a common practice is also proven by the large number of volumes preserved to the present day. These Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese translations of reference works formed the cornerstone of the new Castilian spiritual literature which so rapidly evolved from 1500 onwards.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Melquiades Andrés Martín, *La teología española en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: BAC, 1976–1977), vol. I, 32–39; José García Oro, *La Universidad de Alcalá de Henares en la etapa fundacional (1458–1578)* (Santiago de Compostela, 1992); Melquiades Andrés Martín, “Renovación en teología dogmática y ascética en España (1500–1530)”, *Anthologica Annua* 11 (1963): 127–157; Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, “La enseñanza de Santo Tomás en la Universidad de Alcalá”, *La Ciencia Tomista* 13 (1916): 245–270 y 392–418.

<sup>111</sup> Ricardo García Villoslada, *La Universidad de París durante los estudios de Francisco de Vitoria O. P. (1507–1522)* (Roma: Universidad Gregoriana, 1938).

<sup>112</sup> Theodore S. Beardsley, *Hispano-classical translations printed between 1482 and 1699* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1970).

<sup>113</sup> Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías, *Repertorio de traductores del siglo XV* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos, 2009).

<sup>114</sup> A quick overview of the catalogues of Spanish late medieval libraries suffices to show this. Indeed, they included Spanish manuscripts written in fifteenth century: the *Colaciones de los Padres* de Casiano, *Scalaceli* (or *Escala Espiritual*) by Climacus, *Homilias sobre San Mateo* by Chrysostom, *Tratado del Sumo Bien* by Isidore, several works by or attributed to Gregory (the *Morales*, etc.) and Saint Bernard (such as the *Meditaciones* and *El Libro de doctrina que envió Sant Bernardo a una monja que llaman hermana*), the contemplative *Estímulo de amor de Jesús*, the *Soliloquios* and the *Libro de la vida cristiana* by Augustine, *Consolación* by Boethius, and a *Regla sacada del libro del Abad Ysaach* (of Nineveh), and others. Of course, a large number of miscellaneous manuscripts is also preserved, for example the *XXX Grados* attributed to Jerome, and others compiling sentences and quotes from Gregory, Climacus and others. See Julián Zarco Cuevas, *Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1924), vol. I: “Manuscritos castellanos”; Josep Gudiol, *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits anteriors al segle XVIII del Museu Episcopal de Vich* (Barcelona, 1934); Miguel Artigas and Enrique Sánchez Reyes, *Catálogos de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo* (Santander, 1957), vol. I: “Manuscritos”; Demetrio Mansilla, *Catálogo de los códices de la catedral de Burgos*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1952); José Francisco Sáez Guillén, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla*, (Sevilla, 2002), 2 vols.

*Compiling and Creating in the Carro de Dos Vidas and  
the Exercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual (1500)*

The publication in 1500 of the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* by García de Cisneros (printed in Montserrat) and of *Carro de dos vidas* by the priest Gómez García from Toledo (printed in Seville) was a significant milestone in the development of Spanish spiritual literature. Indeed, inherited spiritual writings had predominated throughout the fifteenth century. The genre had been building into a full *corpus* since the time of the Fathers and had been subject to a variety of combinations over the centuries. In 1500, after a large number of the reference works from this previous phase had gone into print, the publication of the *Exercitatorio* and of *Carro de dos vidas* heralded a new stage: they were the first two systematic and comprehensive spiritual treatises written in Spanish, conceived for the printing press and printed with the intention of reaching beyond the monastic context. The authors of both works made an important linguistic effort to adapt traditional Latin terminology into the Spanish language,<sup>115</sup> despite the fact that both works were composed, in a typically 'medieval' manner, essentially as compilations of previous material. However, García de Cisneros and Gómez García created original cultural products. Baraut's precise study on the sources of the *Exercitatorio* has shown that Cisneros was exhaustive and meticulous in the selection and adaptation of his medieval sources. They were so harmoniously combined that the compilatory nature of his work was somewhat diluted. The volume stands as a comprehensive synthesis of all previous essays on mental prayer and is a decisive step in his practical training method. It is, finally, the first manual on methodical prayer published in Spanish.<sup>116</sup> The combination of the traditional compilatory approach and the novelty of having the old authorities translated into Spanish for the comprehension of all are also present in *Carro de dos vidas*. At the beginning of the text Gómez García points out that "*it is newly composed and compiled ..., and translated from Latin with texts from many books and passages from the Holy Scripture*", and that it "*was written in the vernacular to be understood by those who do not know Latin*".<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Andrés, *Historia de la mística*, 88–90 and 220.

<sup>116</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras completas*, vol. I, 123–124.

<sup>117</sup> '*nuevamente compuesto e copilado [...], e traydo del latín en romance de muchos libros e partes de la Sagrada Scriptura*', and that "*escribióse en romance porque sea para los no latinos*", in Gómez García, *Carro de dos vidas*, introduction and edition by Melquíades Andrés Martín, (Madrid: UPS and FUE, 1988), 93–94.



García Jiménez de Cisneros's work is a mixture of traditional spiritual writing and the literary genre recently developed in the wake of the *Devotio moderna* in northern Europe, which he decisively contributed to introduce into the Iberian Peninsula in the late years of the fifteenth century. C. Baraut's exhaustive work has revealed, following the pioneering works of H. Watrigant, the sources used by Cisneros in the composition of his *Exercitatorio*. According to Baraut, the main group of sources was related with the *Devotio moderna*: Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen's († 1398) *De spiritualibus ascensionibus* and *De reformatione virium animae*, were to a large degree incorporated into the *Exercitatorio*; the first edition of *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium* published by Jean Mombaer († 1501) in 1494 was another of his key sources; he also took a chapter from *Hortulus rosarum* by Thomas à Kempis († 1471); similarly, the *Alphabetum divini amoris* by Nicholas Kempf († 1497) was an important source for the *Exercitatorio*; above all, however, García de Cisneros was indebted to the works of Chancellor Jean Gerson († 1429), including *De diversis tentationibus diaboli*, *De mystica theologia practica*, *Epistola ad sorores suas* and, first and foremost, *De monte contemplationis*, the source of twenty three out of the thirty eight chapters on contemplative life included in the second part of the *Exercitatorio*.<sup>118</sup> The impact of the writings inspired by the *Devotio moderna* in the Iberian Peninsula must not come as a surprise because, regardless of the different opinions as to when García Jiménez de Cisneros became acquainted with them,<sup>119</sup> they had been printed in Catalonia, Aragon and Castile from a very early date: as early as 1482 a printing press in Barcelona issued a Catalan version of Kempis's *Imitación de Cristo*, and at least another four Spanish editions, in Saragossa, Burgos, Toledo and Seville can be attested before 1500.<sup>120</sup> In addition, several books inspired by the *Devotio moderna* were printed in Montserrat in 1499–1500, as we shall see below.

Judging by the volume of text borrowed and by the level of ideological reliance shown, the second major group of sources of the *Exercitatorio* was Franciscan spiritual literature. The *Tractat de contemplació* by

<sup>118</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras Completas*, vol. I, 19–21 and 87–124.

<sup>119</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras Completas*, vol. I, 6–7, 20–21; García M. Colombás, *Un reformador benedictino en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos. García Jiménez de Cisneros, abad de Montserrat* (Abadía de Montserrat, 1955), 127–133; Albareda, "Intorno alla scuola...", 260.

<sup>120</sup> García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras Completas*, vol. I, 19; Rafael M. Pérez García, *La imprenta y la literatura espiritual castellana en la España del Renacimiento, 1470–1560* (Gijón: Trea, 2006), 328.

Francesc Eiximenis—and indirectly, through it, the *Mystica Theologia* by Hugh of Balma, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Richard of Saint Victor—is the direct source of almost six chapters in the *Exercitatorio*, sometimes concerning central notions for the contemplative argumentation of the work.<sup>121</sup> Other works are also important as sources, such as the *Arbor vitae crucifixi Jesu* by Ubertino of Casale, *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione secundum triplicem statum incipientium, proficientium et perfectorum* by the German David of Augsburg, and, most importantly, several treatises by Bonaventure, some genuine and some merely attributed. Among the genuine are *Soliloquium de quatuor mentalibus exercitiis*, *De perfectione vitae ad sorores*, and the *De triplici via* (printed in Montserrat in 1499 under the title *Incendium amoris*) which can be detected in twelve chapters of the *Exercitatorio*. Among the pseudo-Bonaventuran are *Stimulus amoris* and above all the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, a work which modern exegesis has certified to be at least partially of Bonaventura's composition, and on which the considerations on the Life, Passion and Resurrection of Christ are based.<sup>122</sup>

Along with all this, García de Cisneros's *Exercitatorio* drew inspiration from a considerable number of late medieval and early modern authors, such as the Dominicans Antoninus of Florence (*Summa confessorum*), San Vicente Ferrer (*Tractatus de vita spirituali*), Domenico Cavalca (*Specchio de la Croce*), and Johannes Nider (*Preceptorium divinae legis*); the Benedictine Ludovico Barbo (*Formula orationis et meditationis*); the Franciscans Bernardino of Bustis (*Mariale*) and Bernardino of Siena; and the Carthusian Denys van Rijkel. Of course, spiritual writings from the Central Middle Ages are also very present through a significant number of works either written by (including *Sermones in Cantica*) or attributed to Saint Bernard (including the *Tractatus de interiori domo*), William of St-Thierry (*Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei*), Guigues II (*Scala claustralium*, a pseudo-Augustinian work), Anselm, Hugh and Richard of Saint Victor (*Benjamin maior*) and Hugh of Balma (*Mystica Theologia*). Finally, a large number of citations drawn from the patristic also imbue the *Exercitatorio* with authority and a nexus with tradition: most Spanish spiritual literature thenceforth produced followed a similar model. These traditional sources included the *Vitae patrum*, Cassian (*Collationes patrum*,

<sup>121</sup> Baraut, "L'Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual", 233–265.

<sup>122</sup> Cebrià Baraut, "Les fonts franciscanes dels escrits de Garsias de Cisneros", *Analecta Montserratensia* 9 (1962): 65–78. Also García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras Completas*, vol. I, 88–91.

*De coenobiorum institutionibus*), Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine (six works of whom, aside from apocryphal attributions, are cited) Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*), Gregory the Great (*Dialogi de vita et miraculis patrum italicorum*; *Homiliae*; *Moralia in Iob*), Benedict, Isidore of Seville, and, of course, John Climacus (*Scala Paradisi*), along with Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Isaac (*De religione*). Finally, García de Cisneros's compilation also includes myriad citations, quotations, references, allusions and loans drawn from around forty further works. The pains taken by the author in referencing instilled the *Exercitatorio* and the doctrine therein with a colossal authority; doctrine is thus presented with constant reference to a large number of authorities, including ancient ones such as Ephrem and Beda, and following an introduction reinforced by the brief but solid presence of the great scholastics (such as Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales and Thomas Aquinas).<sup>123</sup>

In its conception, *Carro de dos vidas* shows strong similarities with the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual*, but also bears interesting differences due to the rapid cultural transformations taking place in the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed *Carro*, which was addressed to Doña Leonor de Silva, a nun in the monastery of Madre de Dios in Toledo and a member of a prominent aristocratic family, is basically a compilation of medieval materials.<sup>124</sup> Following a classical structure, the book is divided into two parts: the contemplative, and the active life. Significantly for the progress of a new sensitivity towards spirituality, the first part is dedicated to the contemplative life, 'being more excellent' ('por ser más excelente'), as Gómez García, conscious of the novelty of offering these topics in the vernacular, warns in his Prologue. At any rate, the text still shows reticence to the translation of certain theological issues.<sup>125</sup> From a theological point of view it is also ground breaking that both parts are introduced with chapters built upon the doctrine set forth in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* on contemplative and active life,<sup>126</sup> and on the Virtues and their relationship with the

<sup>123</sup> Cebrià Baraut, "La bibliothèque ascétique de García de Cisneros abbé de Montserrat (1493–1510)", *Studia monastica* 9 (1967): 327–339; Albareda, "Intorno alla scuola", 300–316.

<sup>124</sup> This monastery was part of a dense social network built around spirituality in Castile, see Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 215–226.

<sup>125</sup> For example, in chapter XI of the second part, Gómez García succinctly explains the distinction between Beatitudes, Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and Virtues on the basis of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, I-II, q. 69, art. 1. However, Aquinas' explanation is not deployed in full 'que non se pone aquí por no convenir para en romance' (Gómez García, *Carro*, 313).

<sup>126</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, part I, chapters. IV–X from Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II-II, qq. 180 and 181.

Gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Beatitudes.<sup>127</sup> This decided bid for Thomism does not prevent occasional references to the traditional *Libri Sententiarum* by Peter Lombard.<sup>128</sup> In addition, attachment to the usual methods of ecclesiastical tradition also prompts Gómez García to start the treatise on contemplative life with two chapters presented under the authority of Isidore and Bonaventure,<sup>129</sup> and to open the part dedicated to active life with an exhortation towards the exercise of moral virtues on the authority of Gregory's *Homilías*.<sup>130</sup>

The analysis of the compilation created by Gómez García clearly reveals the strong and direct dependence of spiritual literature in Spanish, and its theological and mystical doctrines, on the key titles of Christian tradition. In this regard, the treatise on contemplative life explains the soul by recourse to the *Liber de Spiritu et anima*, attributed to Augustine, whose arguments are confronted with the doctrine of Peter Lombard and Aquinas.<sup>131</sup> From this point onwards, his treatment of contemplative life is basically a long and detailed account of the mystical doctrine set forth by Richard of Saint Victor in *De arca mystica* and *De los doce Patriarcas*,<sup>132</sup> going back to Thomas Aquinas in chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX (from his commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians) in order to corroborate Richard's thesis on ecstasy. After Richard, the second most important source is a very important medieval text, the *Scala Paradisi*, which Gómez García spuriously attributes to Augustine, although its real author is the Carthusian Guigues II († c.1193), and which he directly translates from Latin into Spanish.<sup>133</sup> This *Scala Paradisi* is almost identical to

<sup>127</sup> *Carro*, part II, chapters. II–XI from Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, I–II, especially qq. 55 y 58, and also 40, 49, 68 and 69.

<sup>128</sup> For example, in Gómez García, *Carro*, 115.

<sup>129</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, part I, chapter II: 'De vida activa y contemplativa', referencing Isidore, *De summo bono*, lib. III, chapter XV. This is the translation of a full chapter from Isidore, *Sententiarum Libri III*, lib. III, chapter XV: 'De contemplatione et actione', cf. PL 83, 689–691. This treatise was well known in the Iberian Peninsula in the Late Middle Ages, and circulated both in Latin and in vernacular tongues. And Gómez García, *Carro*, part I, chapter III: 'De la distinción e apartamiento de las dos vidas susodichas', from San Buenaventura, *Centiloquio*, 3ª p., chapter 46.

<sup>130</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, part II, chapter I, 301–302.

<sup>131</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, part I, chapters XI–XV, 113–120.

<sup>132</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, part I, chapters XVI to XXXVII and XXXIX to LIII.

<sup>133</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, part I, chapters LX to LXXI, in strict correspondence with the twelve chapters of the *Scala Paradisi* (PL 40, 997–1004). The comparison with Migne's text reveals, by contrast, that some fragments from the *Scala Paradisi* are missing in *Carro*. The *Scala Paradisi* played a crucial role in medieval Christian spirituality because it is a perfect synthesis of the theory of monastic spiritual reading, which became the main technique for spiritual practice and for the establishment of a relationship with God. Reading was

another text, the *Scala Claustralium. Sive Tractatus de modo orandi*, attributed to Saint Bernard and often listed among his works.<sup>134</sup> Between Richard and the *Scala Paradisi*, Gómez García introduced three other authorities to further support his arguments. These authors and references were cunningly selected. First, such a prestigious author as Anselm was chosen (*Carro*, chapter LIV), followed by Bonaventure again (*Carro*, chapter LV), with whom he also connected with the Franciscan sources, and by Gerard of Zutphen—an author of the *Devotio moderna*—and his work *De Spiritualibus Ascensionibus* (*Carro*, chapters LVI–LIX),<sup>135</sup> printed in Montserrat in the year 1499. The association between Gerard of Zutphen's text and the *Scala Paradisi* has a clear purpose and shows to perfection the creative angle of Gómez García's compilation. By combining both texts the author superimposed two 'ladders': Zutphen's *Scala ascensionum*, consisting of reading, meditation and prayer; and the traditional *Scala Paradisi*, which added a fourth step, contemplation. Between the two texts (towards the end of chapter LIX in the treatise on contemplative life), and in order to connect both ladders, Gómez García included a piece of doctrine that is traditional in nature, but probably of his own pen, presenting reading, meditation and prayer as three degrees or steps ascending the '*monte de la contemplación*'.<sup>136</sup> Gómez García's compilation and translation work is of truly extraordinary relevance. He made traditional mystical Christian doctrine, as formulated by Richard of Saint Victor and with Aquinas' doctrinal support, available to a lay audience. The classic approach to reading contemplated by Christian spirituality now moved beyond the monastic field to reach the wider public in a truly revolutionary manner: a volume in the vernacular issued in Seville, at the time the most important centre for the commercialisation of books in the Iberian Peninsula. As a consequence, this traditional approach to spiritual reading was replicated by Spanish spiritual literary production from that point, and throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>137</sup>

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understood as the first step in the progressive ascent of the soul, followed by meditation (on the contents of the reading), prayer and, finally, contemplation and union with God (Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 371–382 and 433–450).

<sup>134</sup> PL 184, 475–484.

<sup>135</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, part I, chapters LVI–LIX, corresponding to chapters 43 to 46 in Zutphen (*Tractatus de spiritualibus ascensionibus*, Monasterio de Montserrat, printed at the expense of the monastery by Johannem Luschner, 1499. Biblioteca Nacional de España: I-423), although Gómez García suppresses some of Zutphen's fragments and adds others of his own pen (Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 383).

<sup>136</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, 221.

<sup>137</sup> Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 371–384.

The second part of the *Carro de dos vidas*, on active life, has 173 chapters and examines several interrelated topics: the Virtues and their connection with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Beatitudes; a very long exposition on the Theological Virtues, including the Creed and the analysis of the conversion of infidels, with a long argumentation aimed at convincing Jews of the divinity of Christ and a briefer but very substantial one (chapter XXXIII) on the falsity of the Islamic religion and the specific means that Christians must resort to for the propagation of the faith;<sup>138</sup> a dissertation on the acts of charity and another very interesting one on prayer; the Cardinal Virtues; the Seven Virtues (humility, generosity, chastity, virginity, patience, abstinence, diligence) in opposition to the Seven Deadly Sins; the Beatitudes; the Advices of Christ; and several moral teachings on perfection, temptation and sin. This variety of topics explains the richness of the constant references, against an ever present biblical background.

In the development of the second part of the book, the position of *Carro de dos vidas* in this transitional period for theology—between the historical analysis of the Holy Script and florilegia of the Fathers and the systematic study through *sententiarum* and *summas*—is once again made clear.<sup>139</sup> Aquinas' *Summa theologica* takes again a prominent role, along with the *Summa Angelica* by Angelo di Chivasso, the *Summa Antonina* (*defecerunt*) and the *Summa* by Rainerius of Pisa. Of course, the author used other works by Aquinas, such as the *Cathena Aurea*, and often also Aquinas' and Bonaventure's commentaries on the *Liber Sententiarum*.

This material is complemented by dozens of citations and examples taken from others (directly or otherwise) in a very traditional approach to theological writing. This is transparently shown by chapters in which authorities on any given issue simply pile up '*por colación*'; the case after the presentation of nearly every virtue, where an explanation given in the scholastic manner is supported by traditional authorities. It is interesting that most of the few references to Classical authors are to be found in these chapters, alongside traditional Christian authors and very few coeval

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<sup>138</sup> Gómez García's insistence on explaining the success of Christianity by the adoption of peaceful methods, in contrast to Islam, was very well timed, as it coincided with the Catholic Monarchs' policy of forced baptisms—carried out on the advice of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros—following the 1499 *Mudejar* revolt in Granada. See Rafael M. Pérez García, "El problema del Islam en la Sevilla del Descubrimiento, 1492–1502: polémica teológica y política religiosa", in *VII Estudios de Frontera. Islam y Cristiandad. S. XII–XVI* (Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2009), 659–680.

<sup>139</sup> Andrés, *La teología*, vol. I, 5.

Castilian writers, such as the first Marquis of Santillana.<sup>140</sup> Throughout the second part of *Carro* we find a selection of Christian authorities from all periods. Although early Christian writers are significantly represented—Origen, Jerome, Ambrose [*De officiis*, *De viduitate*], Eusebius of Caesarea [*Historia ecclesiastica*]<sup>141</sup>—the most commonly cited and doctrinally most relevant are those authors from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, for example Augustine (over ten of whose works are cited, including of course *De Civitate Dei*, the *Confesiones*, *De trinitate*, the *Libro de las Retractaciones*, *De ecclesiastica doctrina* and *Sobre el Génesis*, among others), Gregory (who is probably mentioned more often than any other author, with his *Homilías*, *Morales*, *Pastoral*, *Sobre Ezequiel*, and *Registro*), Dionysius the Areopagite (*Epistola a Policarpo*), Chrysostom (*Homilía*, *Sobre San Mateo*, *Sobre San Juan*), Beda and Rabanus Maurus (sporadically cited and probably only via a long chain of transmission), Isidore of Seville, the *Collationes patrum*, and the *Regla* by Benedict. There are also frequent mentions of the major reformers of Christian spirituality in the twelfth century, such as Saint Bernard (*Libro de amar a Dios*, *Sobre los Cánticos*) and Hugh and Richard of Saint Victor, although Gómez García's predilections were clearly set on Francis of Assisi, whose stigmata he recalled, and Saint Dominic, the founder of the Order of Preachers and the receiver of seven divine revelations.<sup>142</sup> It seems clear that Gómez García was perfectly aware of the considerable prominence of Franciscans and Dominicans in the transmission of Christian spirituality and mysticism throughout the Late Middle Ages, as shown by the conspicuous presence in his text of members of both orders: the *Meditaciones*, which he attributes to Bonaventure; the Franciscan Robertus Caracciolo, Bishop of Aquino between 1475 and 1495,<sup>142</sup> whose sermons were printed in great number in Italy over three decades (the two entitled *Quadragesimale* and *Festivo* are used directly by Gómez García); and the Dominican friar Bartholomew of Lucca († 1327), Bishop of Torcello. Regarding biblical commentaries, Gómez García used, aside from Jerome, the medieval *Gloss* and the *Postillae* by the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra and the more recent Bishop Pablo of Burgos, both of whom were of Jewish origins. Gómez García's

<sup>140</sup> See for example, Gómez García, *Carro*, 429, 433, 525, 538–544, 546–548, 550–562, 564–7, 570–573, etc; in these pages we find, for example, Cicero, Seneca, Boethius, or the Marquis of Santillana.

<sup>141</sup> On Francis and Saint Dominic, see Gómez García, *Carro*, 412–414.

<sup>142</sup> Gómez García, *Carro*, 413. Cf. Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, 1914, vol. II, 92.

argumentation is tremendously rich because of his able selection of sources and the wealth of authority emanating from the biblical, ecclesiastical and traditional expertise on display. The treatise on the active life included in the *Carro* is not a strictly moral work, introducing prayer into this active life and proving the enthusiasm felt at the time for the topic and for its practical dimension. Indeed, in chapters LXXIV–XCIV, Gómez explains the issue of prayer once more through Aquinas (*Summa theologiae*, II-II, q. 83, De oratione), the *Summae* of Rainerius and Chivasso, and the *Floretum Sancti Mathaei* by Alonso Fernández de Madrigal, *el Tostado*, Bishop of Ávila who died in 1455. In these explanations the author goes over the usual points, such as: who the prayer must be addressed to, how, who benefits from it and how, whether God is listening to said prayer, the conditions to be met by the worshipper to ensure God's attention, the prayer for the dead and for the living, the duration of prayer, the relationship between vocal and mental prayer, the importance of devotion and attention during prayer, prayer in the canonical Hours and the excellence of the Pater Noster. As with Cartagena half a century earlier, Gómez García promoted the practice of contemplative prayer through the reading of key spiritual texts in the Christian tradition while giving his doctrine a scholastic hue, an essential condition to prevent the attack from the most rationalist—and distrustful of mysticism—'wing' of theology. In fact, as the sixteenth century progressed, the main problem encountered by Spanish mystics was the critical attitude shown by the most rationalist among the scholastics towards the calls to perfection, the democratisation of mental prayer and the production and publication of books on spirituality in vernacular languages.<sup>143</sup>

*The Printing Press and Vernacular Languages.  
The Encounter of Spiritual Literature and Christian Tradition  
with the New Castilian Spiritual Literature, ca. 1480–1540*

The century between the first Franciscan reforms in the early fifteenth century and the penetration in Montserrat of the Benedictine observance based in the Monastery of San Benito (Valladolid), saw important cultural and religious transformations. We have already referred to some of them.

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<sup>143</sup> Rafael M. Pérez García, "La censura y la espiritualidad española del Renacimiento. Razones doctrinales y elementos históricos para el conflicto", *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad* 7 (2008): 13–36; Andrés, *La teología*, vol. II, 555–576.



The pace of this cultural transformation quickened during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, as a consequence of an intense process of contact and exchange between the nuclei of religious and spiritual reform in different European countries, and of the introduction of the printing press in the Iberian Peninsula. During these years, a good number of works from the Christian spiritual tradition were issued in printed form and in Spanish: *De religione* by Abbot Isaac; *Scalaceli* and the *Vitas patrum* attributed to Jerome; *Los Diálogos* by Gregory; the medieval classics, including the *Meditationes* attributed to Saint Bernard; *Soliloquio*, *Forma de los novicios*, *Meditationes vite Christi*, attributed to Bonaventure; other, more recent works, such as *Espejo de la Cruz* by Cavalca; the *Devotísima exposición sobre el salmo Miserere mei Deus* by Savonarola; the *Floreto de San Francisco*; and, in the last two decades of the 1400s, some authors from northern Europe, including Rickel, Dorland, Kempis, Zutphen and Gerson. Similarly, the *Oracional* by Alonso de Cartagena was printed in 1487.<sup>144</sup>

The reformist sectors of religious orders were especially interested in printing both the works of the Catholic spiritual tradition and of those coeval authors which they regarded as being the most valuable. This explains García Jiménez de Cisneros' initiative in Montserrat in 1499–1500, crystallised in the agreement with the German printer Johann Luschner, who was working in Barcelona, to move his presses to the monastery. The fact is not excessively original, because several printing presses had already moved into Benedictine and Dominican monasteries in different points of Europe.<sup>145</sup> During these two years the presses in Montserrat issued missals, constitutions, breviaries and other prayer books, but also a good number of books on spirituality: *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* and *Directorio de las horas canónicas*, written in Spanish by García de Cisneros himself; *Exercitatorium vitae spiritualis*, the Latin translation of the former by Fray Hernán de Torquemada, disciple of the Abbot; the *Epístola excitativa para el espiritual aprovechamiento* by Gerson; *Liber meditationum vitae D. N. Iesuchristi* by Bonaventure; *Incendium amoris*, *De instructione*

<sup>144</sup> Pérez, *La imprenta*, 218–222 and 324–340.

<sup>145</sup> Falk Eisermann, "A Golden Age? Monastic Printing Houses in the Fifteenth Century", in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Benito Rial Costas, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 37–67. The other two major Spanish monasteries hosting printing presses in the fifteenth century were the Dominican San Pedro Mártir, in Toledo, and Nuestra Señora de Prado, in Valladolid. For this, see Luis Fernández, *La real imprenta del Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Prado, 1481–1835* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), and Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Toledo* (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundación de Manuel Tello, 1887).

*novitiorum* and *Vita Christi* (in Catalan) by Bonaventure; *Tractatus de spiritualibus ascensionibus* by Zutphen. In total, it is possible that the press issued over 7,600 volumes, aside from thousands of indulgences and religious images. Already in August 1500 a large quantity of books were being shipped to San Benito in Valladolid for further distribution to other monasteries of the order in Castile.<sup>146</sup> In this case, it seems that production was aimed at consumption *intra muros*. In addition, the fact that all of these editions were printed in octavo suggest that these volumes were conceived for individual consumption and reading.

The most important effort to disseminate Christian spiritual literature among the wider public in Castile, however, came several years later at the hand of the Franciscan archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, first cousin of the reformer of Montserrat. Aside from liturgical volumes Jiménez de Cisneros funded the printing in Toledo and Alcalá de Henares of several key works for Christian spirituality: the *Escala espiritual* by John Climacus, printed in Spanish in 1504 and followed by a Latin edition in the following year; the *Libro de la vida* de Angela of Foligno, with the *Revelaciones* by Mechtilde, both in Latin, in 1505; another volume, published in 1510 and including the *Tratado de la vida espiritual* by San Vicente Ferrer and the Spanish translation of *Libro de la vida* by Angela of Foligno;<sup>147</sup> in 1511, the *Vida* of Catherine of Siena, translated into Spanish by the Dominican friar Antonio de la Peña; and finally, in 1512, the *Epístolas y oraciones* by the same Italian author. As expressed by the cardinal's biographer, Quintanilla, Cisneros distributed many of these volumes among the convents, but also among lay persons 'in a language understood by all' ('*en lengua que todos los pudiesen gozar*').<sup>148</sup>

During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, in the wake of the spectacular growth of printing in the Iberian Peninsula,<sup>149</sup> the process of edition of major Late Antique and medieval authors continued (Cassian, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Bonaventure, Saint Bernard),<sup>150</sup> in addition to

<sup>146</sup> Anselm M. Albareda, "La imprenta de Montserrat (segles XVè–XVIè)", *Analecta montserratensia* 11 (1918): 11–166. Also Pérez, *La imprenta*, 209–210.

<sup>147</sup> On this edition see Álvaro Huerga, "La edición cisneriana del *Tratado de la vida espiritual* y otras ediciones del siglo XVI", *Escritos del Vedat* 10 (1980): 297–313.

<sup>148</sup> Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, *La siembra mística del Cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la Iglesia* (Madrid: UPS and FUE, 1979); Pérez, *La imprenta*, 210–212.

<sup>149</sup> Frederick J. Norton, *A descriptive catalogue of printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501–1520* (Cambridge University Press, 1978); Julián Martín Abad, *Post-incunables ibéricos* (Madrid: Ollero & Ramos, 2001).

<sup>150</sup> This process can be followed in detail in Pérez, *La imprenta*, 222–226 and 288–340. See also Andrés, *Historia de la mística*, 153–158.

the important Spanish translation of the *Mystica theologia* by Hugh of Balma, carried out by the Franciscan Antonio de Ciudad Real (issued in Toledo in 1514 under the title *Sol de contemplativos*, this work decisively disseminated the mystical theology of Dionysius the Areopagite in the Iberian Peninsula),<sup>151</sup> and the works of Eiximenis and Savonarola. Along with this, treatises originally written in Spanish also started to proliferate during this period, including the *Lucero de la vida cristiana* by Ximénez de Próxano (nine editions of which were printed between 1493 and 1520) and the *Retablo de la vida de Cristo* by the Carthusian Juan de Padilla, printed on seven occasions between 1505 and 1518, among others. Some of these works were disseminated very widely, such as the *Epístolas y evangelios* translated by the Franciscan Ambrosio Montesino, published as many as twenty times between 1506 and 1558, which strongly contributed to the dissemination of an enormous amount of biblical, moral and hagiographic material.<sup>152</sup> The most significant cases were *Carro de dos vidas* by Gómez García and the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* by García de Cisneros, printed in 1500 and which we have dealt with extensively.

The impact of this enormous typographic output is very visible in early 16th century libraries. The books possessed by Queen Isabella of Castile (1451–1504) at the end of her life show the modernisation of the repertoire of moral and spiritual works, because other than a copy of the *Vidas de los santos Padres* all volumes corresponded to fifteenth century authors and were of recent print: *Contemptus mundi* by Kempis, *Espejo de la cruz* by Cavalca, *Evangelios y epístolas* (probably the Spanish version by Gonzalo García de Santa María, published twice before 1494), *Enseñamiento del corazón* (printed in Salamanca in 1498), *Sacramental* by Sánchez de Vercial, *Vita Christi fecho por coplas* (by Íñigo de Mendoza), and *Lucero de la vida cristiana* by Ximénez de Próxano. The queen handed these and other books to her daughters around 1500–1501. It is very interesting that on one of these occasions she handed over a copy of *Carro de dos vidas* by Gómez García,<sup>153</sup> a very recent work, published in 1500 and highly significant for the history and evolution of spiritual literature in Spanish.

The library of Queen Joanna the Mad (1479–1555) also reflects the transition between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, because along

<sup>151</sup> Pérez, "El argumento".

<sup>152</sup> Ana M<sup>a</sup>. Álvarez Pellitero, *La obra lingüística y literaria de fray Ambrosio Montesino* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1976).

<sup>153</sup> Elisa Ruiz García, "Los libros de Isabel la Católica: una encrucijada de intereses", in *Libro y lectura en la Península Ibérica y América (siglos XIII a XVIII)*, ed. Antonio Castillo Gómez, (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2003), 53–77.

with a large number of books of hours and other traditional texts, books written by fifteenth century authors—in print format—are also found in significant numbers. Queen Joanna had a manuscript copy in parchment entitled *Epístolas de sant Jerónimo y Diálogos de Sant Agustín*, a *Contemptus Mundi*, the *Libro de las donas* by Eiximenis, the *Flos sanctorum*, and several books in print: the *Vita Christi Cartuxano*, the *Vita Christi* by Eiximenis, corrected and enlarged by Hernando de Talavera (printed in Granada in 1496), *Espejo de la Cruz* by Cavalca, a copy of *Flor de virtudes*, *De consolación* by Boethius and the *Lucero de la vida christiana* by Ximénez de Préxano.<sup>154</sup>

The library of Queen Eleanor of Viseu (1458–1525), wife of King João II († 1495), had a similar spiritual profile but with an interesting edge. Along with several books of prayer—two small bibles, four psalters and a *Vita Christi* in Spanish—we find the *Meditações de Santo Agostinho*, *De consolación* by Boethius, the *Sermões de Sam Bernardo ad sororem*, *Stimulus amoris* (by the Pseudo-Bonaventure), *Natura angelica* by Eiximenis, the *Preceptorium* by Nider, an *Exposiçam de Evangelhos e Epistolas* and the *Sermões de Sam Grissostomo*, aside from the typically medieval collection of patristic texts (*Omeliae diversorum autorum*) including Augustine, Gregory, Beda and Origen. In addition, it is also highly significant that Eleanor ordered the printing of a copy of *Livro de Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony (the Carthusian), in Portuguese, issued in Lisbon in 1495.<sup>155</sup>

It is interesting to note that these readings were not exclusive to royalty or to the upper classes. The analysis of the reception of spiritual writings in Castile has shown that during the first three decades of the 16th century the readership of spiritual texts in Castile progressively combined titles written or printed in the Iberian Peninsula from the late fifteenth century onwards with traditional works transmitted through the Middle Ages.<sup>156</sup> The same conclusion applies to Catalonia,<sup>157</sup> Aragon<sup>158</sup> and Valencia.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Primera época, legajo 1213, and Bethany Aram, *La Reina Juana. Gobierno, piedad y dinastía* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), 256–257. I thank the author for giving me access to this document.

<sup>155</sup> Isabel Vilares Cepeda, “Os Livros da Rainha D. Leonor, segundo o códice 11352 da Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa”, *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 2 (1987): 51–81; Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, *A Rainha D. Leonor (1458–1525). Poder, Misericórdia, Religiosidade e Espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2002), 889–918.

<sup>156</sup> Pérez, *Sociología y lectura*, 245–339; and Antonio Márquez, *Los alumbrados. Orígenes y filosofía (1525–1559)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1980), 109–122.

<sup>157</sup> Jordi Rubió, “Notas sobre los libros de lectura espiritual en Barcelona entre 1500 y 1530”, *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 25 (1956): 317–327; and Manuel Peña Díaz, *El laberinto de los libros. Historia cultural de la Barcelona del Quinientos* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1997), 354–395.

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century the Iberian Peninsula underwent an extraordinary cultural transformation. Along with the edition in print of traditional spiritual books and of the new titles published in the context of the processes of religious reform carried out in several European countries (especially the Low Countries, Italy and France) the publication of an avalanche of new titles, most written in Spanish, ensued. The list of new titles soon became nearly as long as the traditional repertoire.<sup>160</sup> This new mentality, emerging over the course of a single generation, also brought a new style of writing in which the opinion of authors—understood as cultural creators in the field of spirituality—gained a new relevance. As rightly pointed out by M. Andrés:

In 1525 Spaniards were convinced of having taken a big leap ahead with regard to previous generations [...] The notion of static “auctoritas” imploded with unheard of rapidity and in consequence the works written uniquely or mainly by authorities almost disappeared. The “compilavit” of the previous generation was initially replaced by the subtitling of works with expressions such as “bene revisa”, “correcta”, “intersectis egregiis quaestionibus” among others. Later, the mere title of the work was deemed to be sufficient.<sup>161</sup>

However, the development of this new cultural climate, promoted during the previous decades by the crown, entered in the 1520s into a new phase characterised by an increasingly strained context and by an equally increasing need for accuracy of expression which, especially from the 1540s onwards, turned into a necessary prudence. Religious authors committed to the social dissemination of spirituality were forced to it by the growing fear of Lutheran penetration, which the Spanish authorities assumed from a very early date,<sup>162</sup> and by the investigation and processes launched by the Inquisition against the *Alumbrados* in the Kingdom of Toledo between 1524 and 1529. The three first major syntheses of Castilian mysticism were therefore published in a political-religious context distinguished by urgency for clarification: the *Tercer Abecedario Espiritual* by Francisco de Osuna (1527), *Via Spiritus* by Bernabé de Palma (1532)

<sup>158</sup> Manuel José Pedraza Gracia, *Lectores y lecturas en Zaragoza (1501–1521)* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 1998), 56–90.

<sup>159</sup> Philippe Berger, “Las lecturas femeninas en la Valencia del Renacimiento”, *Bulletin hispanique* 100 (1998): 383–399, and “Las lecturas de las capas modestas en la Valencia renacentista”, *Bulletin hispanique* 99 (1997): 161–170.

<sup>160</sup> Pérez, *La imprenta*, 222–228.

<sup>161</sup> Andrés, *La teología*, vol. 2, 6.

<sup>162</sup> Augustin Redondo, “Luther et l’Espagne de 1520 a 1536”, *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 1 (1965): 109–165.

and *Subida del Monte Sión* by Bernardino de Laredo (1535), all of them members of the Franciscan order. These are original works because of their composition and because of their style of exposition, and for this reason very different from one another. But each of them, in their own way, expresses the same conception of mysticism—the ‘*recogimiento*’-, explicitly identified as nothing more than the traditional mystical theology of the Church, the spiritual tradition of which they rely upon.<sup>163</sup> At the same time, these works embodied a very novel approach to synthetism in the Spanish language while using new literary resources aimed at bringing their mystical conception to the whole of society and thus acting as a new germ for religious renovation. They closed one phase and started another. Their work signalled the end of a very long period throughout which the Christian literary tradition had predominated, having thenceforth to coexist with the new generation of spiritual writings that emerged from it,<sup>164</sup> but adapted to their own time and to a new aim: the democratisation and universalization of Christian spiritual sanctity. Indeed, traditional literary works—books which were still recommended by the Erasmist author of *Diálogo de la doctrina Cristiana*, published in 1529 and attributed by Bataillon to Juan de Valdés,<sup>165</sup> and by the Augustine Luis de

<sup>163</sup> For Francisco de Osuna and this question see Rafael M. Pérez García, “La Biblia en la construcción del texto espiritual del Renacimiento: la historia de José, hijo de Jacob, en la obra de Francisco de Osuna”, in *Franciscanos, místicos, herejes y alumbrados*, ed. Álvaro Castro Sánchez et al. (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba and Editorial Séneca, 2010), 153–176; and Rafael M. Pérez García, “Francisco de Osuna y las religiones. Judaísmo, Islam, Filosofía y Conversos en torno a la espiritualidad franciscana (c. 1492–1542)”, in *El Franciscanismo en Andalucía. Perfiles y figuras del franciscanismo andaluz. XIV Curso de Verano*, ed. Manuel Peláez del Rosal, (Córdoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 2009), 347–364. In an interpretive line that recalls the *Ejercicios espirituales* by Ignatius of Loyola, it is interesting to consult Xavier Melloni, “Los Ejercicios. En la Tradición de Occidente”, *Eides* 23 (1998), 1–36.

<sup>164</sup> A magnificent example of the coexistence of both genres of Christian literature can be found in the library of Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada (1515–1582), Teresa of Avila. See Alfred Morel-Fatio, “Les lectures de Sainte Thérèse”, *Bulletin hispanique* 10 (1908): 17–67, and Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro, “Libros y lecturas para el hogar de Don Alonso Sánchez de Cepeda”, *Salmanticensis* 34 (1987): 169–188.

<sup>165</sup> Following Antronio’s question as to what books to recommend the parishioners, the character of the Archbishop responds: ‘The book of *Epístolas y Evangelios y sermones del año* [...]; and also the Carthusians have much doctrine and many doctors; and Erasmus’ *Enquirdion*; and some other things in the vernacular by the same author and the *Declaración del Pater noster*, and a little sermon of Baby Jesus and some *Coloquios*; also the *Contentus mundi*, by Gerson, or so they say, and the *Epístolas* by Jerome and also the *Morales* by Gregory, now printed in the vernacular, and also some things by Augustine’ (Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la Doctrina Cristiana* (Buenos Aires: Editorial La Aurora, 1946), 175).

Alarcón in his *Camino del cielo*, published in 1547<sup>166</sup>—were still the direct source of the new syntheses of Christian mysticism written in Spain in the first half of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>166</sup> Luis de Alarcón recommended 'uncultivated people who know no Latin' ('*las personas no letradas ni latinas*') books translated into vernacular 'since they not only illuminate the mind about God's business, but also boost the love for God' ('*no solamente alumbran el entendimiento para conocer las cosas de Dios, mas juntamente inflaman el afecto al temor y amor divino*'), such as the Gospels, the *Vita Christi* by the Carthusian, the *Vitas Patrum*, the *Meditaciones* by Augustine, the *Soliloquio* 'and other little books' by Bonaventure, the *Contemptus Mundi*, the *Flos sanctorum*, 'and other similar ones'. Alongside this repertoire, Alarcón recommended 'for those rich in knowledge' ('*para los que son doctos*'), the Holy Script with the *Glossa Ordinaria*, 'the old holy doctors, like our father Augustine, Gerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Chrisostomus, Cyprian; the works by Richard of Saint Victor, Bernard, Bonaventure. Among the scholastics, Thomas, whose doctrine is solid, copious and very beneficial' ('*los sagrados doctores antiguos, como son nuestro Padre San Agustín, San Jerónimo, San Ambrosio, San Gregorio, Crisóstomo y Cipriano; las obras de Ricardo de Santo Victore, San Bernardo, San Buenaventura. Y entre los escolásticos, Santo Tomás, cuya doctrina es sólida, copiosa y muy fructífera*') (Luis de Alarcón, *Camino del cielo*, ed. Ángel Custodio Vega, (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1959), 96).





## CHAPTER FOUR

### ITALIAN LITERATURE IN THE HISPANIC WORLD DURING THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD (SEVILLE AND MEXICO CITY)

Natalia Maillard Álvarez

In 1526, immediately after marrying Isabella of Portugal in Seville, Charles I moved with his court to Granada, which had been taken from the Muslims 34 years earlier. There, the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero maintained a conversation with two poets traveling with the royal entourage, the Catalan Juan Boscán and the Castilian Garcilaso de la Vega, which was to become famous due to its great importance for Spanish literature.<sup>1</sup> In the course of this conversation Navagero encouraged the Spanish writers to adopt Italian verse and metrics, which they both did, soon becoming more successful than any of their predecessors. The assimilation of Italian models to Spanish poetry resulted in the publication in Barcelona of *Obras de Boscán con algunas de Garcilaso* in 1542, after the death of both authors. These poems, and especially those by Garcilaso, which were also published piecemeal from 1569, became a swift success among the most cultivated readers, and were soon imitated and annotated.<sup>2</sup> Garcilaso not only adopted Italian metrics but took the imitation of Italian models much further, leaving a deep imprint apparent in later Spanish poetry.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio Prieto, *Imago Vitae (Garcilaso y otros acercamientos al siglo XVI)* (Malaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2002). On the origin, reception and adoption of Italian models, see Antonio Prieto, 'El ayuntamiento de dos prácticas poéticas', in Antonio Prieto, *La poesía española del siglo XVI, I. Andais tras mis escritos* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984), 37–58.

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<sup>2</sup> *Las obras del excelente poeta Garcilasso de la Vega / agora nuevamente corregidas de muchos errores que en todas las impresiones passadas auia* (Salamanca: Matías Gast, 1569). The book *Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera*, published in Seville in 1580 and dedicated to the Marquis of Ayamonte (at the time governor of Milan), confirmed Garcilaso as the model poet in the Spanish language. For the role played by aristocrats such as Boscán and Garcilaso in the dissemination of the Italian style in Castile, see Bartolomé Yun (dir.), *Introduction to Las redes del Imperio. Élités sociales en la articulación de la Monarquía Hispánica, 1492–1714* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 209).

<sup>3</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Introduction to Romance Languages and Literature* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), 177–178.

This encounter in Granada and its results are well known, as is the overall influence of Italian authors on all genres—not only poetry—of Spanish literature, which had in fact begun before the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The present chapter, however, focuses not on the authors (Italian or Spanish) or their work, but on their audience, with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the impact of Italian influences on Spanish culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My objective is also to go beyond previous studies focusing on the Spanish readership by comparing Spanish with American audiences, especially in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. In this regard, the aim of the present paper is to explore the phenomenon of Italian influence on the Spanish world from an Atlantic perspective. In order to achieve these ends, we shall be comparing readers from two cities, Seville and Mexico, and the impact that Italian culture may have had on their readings between 1560 and 1630.

The cultural relationship between the two great Western Mediterranean peninsulas was already very close during the Middle Ages, and continued to be so throughout the Modern Period due to a number of factors: the extensive Spanish colony in Italy, further reinforced by the control of several Italian territories by the Spanish crown,<sup>5</sup> the exchange of ambassadors and, finally, the arrival of Italian book merchants, printers and sellers to Spain.<sup>6</sup> The latter factor was particularly significant in Seville, which saw the arrival of many and important book professionals, especially throughout the sixteenth century (Monardes, Lavezaris, Robertis, Pescioni...).<sup>7</sup> In the cosmopolitan Seville of the Spanish Golden Age, the Italians easily outnumbered alien residents from other nations. In fact,

<sup>4</sup> Gianfranco di Stefano, 'Note su Luigi Tansillo e il petrarchismo in Spagna', in *El Renacimiento Italiano. Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Italianistas* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1986), 515–526.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas J. Dandeleet, *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion. 1500–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); J. Martínez Millán and M. Rivero Rodríguez, *Centros de poder italianos en la Monarquía Hispánica. Siglos XV–XVIII* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> Manuel Peña Díaz, 'Las relaciones culturales entre España e Italia en la época del Gran Capitán', in *I Jornadas de la Cátedra Gran Capitán* (Córdoba: Montilla, 2003), 55–79. For a better understanding of this relationship, see the classic work by Benedetto Croce, *España en la vida italiana del Renacimiento* (Seville: Renacimiento, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> Dennis E Rhodes, 'Italy and Spain in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Connections in the Book Trade', in *La Memoria de los Libros. Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*, vol. I (Salamanca: IHL, 2004), 319–326; Klaus Wagner, 'Guido de Lavezaris, genovés (1512–1582). De librero a gobernador de Filipinas', in *Tra Siviglia e Genova: notario, documento e commercio nell'età colombiana* (Milan: EDITORIAL, 1994), 378–391. Abundant information can be found about Andrea Pescioni in Carlos A. González Sánchez and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *Orbe tipográfico. El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón: Trea, 2003).

their history in the city was already a long one:<sup>8</sup> Muslim Seville had already aroused the interest of the Italians,<sup>9</sup> and after the Christian conquest it became a beacon for individuals from all over Italy but especially the Genoese, who obtained some royal privileges in 1251 and who played an important role in the city in the following centuries.<sup>10</sup> The discovery of the American continent and the centralisation of all the trade with the New World in Seville in 1503 further increased the appeal of the city to foreign merchants,<sup>11</sup> and the list of the best Sevillian families of the 1500s and the 1600s is full of Italian names, often 'Hispanised': Espínola, Grimaldo, Pinelo, Centurión, Cataño, Doria, Negrón, Corzo, Mañara...

This presence and influence of Italian communities was not restricted to the Andalusian capital, but was also highly prevalent in other Castilian and Aragonese cities already in the Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup> In Barcelona, for instance, Italian or, more specifically, Tuscanian, was a frequently used language even beyond the circles of the most cultivated readers.<sup>13</sup> The imitation of Italian models was frequent in Renaissance and Baroque

<sup>8</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar, 'Colonias extranjeras en Sevilla: tipología de los mercaderes', in Carlos A. González, *Sevilla, Felipe II y la Monarquía Hispánica*, (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1999), 33–48. Also of interest is Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y mentalidad en la Sevilla del Antiguo Régimen* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1979), 27–38.

<sup>9</sup> Geo Pistarino, 'Presenze ed influenze italiane nel sud della Spagna (secc. XII–XV)', in *Presencia italiana en Andalucía (siglos XIV–XVII)* (Seville: EEHA, 1985), 21–51. According to this author, Seville was the main reference point in Southern Spain for the Italian merchants of the Trecento.

<sup>10</sup> Manuel González Jiménez, 'Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII–XV)', in *Presencia italiana en Andalucía. Siglos XIV–XVII* (Seville: EEHA, 1985), 115–130. Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure. The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (New York, 1966).

<sup>11</sup> Antonio García-Baquero, *La Carrera de Indias. Suma de la contratación y océano de negocios* (Seville: Algaida, 1992); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y Ocaso de Sevilla* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1991). Before 1492 these merchants were attracted to Seville as a harbour from which to ship Spanish products and as port of call in the routes to England and Flanders. J. Heers, 'Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV: orígenes, grupos y solidaridades', in *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza* (Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1982), 419–444.

<sup>12</sup> A stable Italian presence can be traced from the 12th century, for example in Toledo and Compostela, two major cultural centres in the Middle Ages. This phenomenon, however, became particularly intense in the following century, also extending to Western Andalusia after the Christian conquest, Santiago Aguadé Nieto, *Libro y cultura italianos en la Corona de Castilla durante la Edad Media* (Alcala de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 1992), 27–31.

<sup>13</sup> Manuel Peña, *El laberinto de los libros. Historia cultural de la Barcelona del Quinientos* (Madrid: Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1997), 200. In the libraries of Plasencia, an inland city near Portugal and far away from Italy, Italian is the only language featuring significantly, Ricardo Luengo Pacheco, *Libros y lectores en Plasencia (siglos XV–XVIII)* (Caceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2002), 176–177.

Europe, but it was particularly intense in Spain,<sup>14</sup> where religious and linguistic similarities combined with the political action of the Spanish crown in the Italian states, some of which (such as the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan) were under Spanish domination. At the same time, the aforementioned Spanish and Italian communities in Italy and Spain acted as dynamic networks, the cultural importance of which still remains to be analysed in depth.<sup>15</sup> In Paul O. Kristeller's words: "the first important channel through which Italian humanism spread abroad was [...] the exchange of persons".<sup>16</sup>

Although in theory immigration to the American colonies was limited to Castilian naturals there were many Italians settlers, particularly in New Spain,<sup>17</sup> where they seem to have been more successful than in the Viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>18</sup> We must also stress the arrival of Italian printers and book sellers in America, for example Giovanni Pauli and Antonio Ricciardi,<sup>19</sup> the earliest printers in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru

<sup>14</sup> José Antonio Maravall, 'Culturas periféricas: Renacimiento español y Renacimiento veneciano', in *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español. La época del Renacimiento* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 1999), 116.

<sup>15</sup> In this regard, Russell and Rico stress the importance of Italian-taught Spanish scholars in the dissemination of Humanism. Peter E. Russell and Francisco Rico, 'Camino del Humanismo', *Historia y Crítica de la literatura española. La Edad Media* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001), 442–449. On the other hand, Lefèvre underlines that the fluid relationship between Italian and Spanish writers calls for a common treatment of the Italian and Iberian cases, especially as a consequence of the increasing dissemination of works brought by the expansion of the printing press (including the production in Italy of Spanish works and the export to Spain of Italian books). Matteo Lefèvre, *Una poesia per l'impero. Lingua, editoria e tipologie del petrarchismo tra Spagna e Italia nell'epoca di Carlo V* (Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2006), 10–11.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton: University Press, 1980), 71. For a good review on the travels of Spanish writers and scholars in Italy and of Italian authors in Spain (especially important from the late 15th century, following the increased Spanish weight in international politics) see Ángel Gómez Moreno, 'Viajeros españoles e italianos', in *España y la Italia de los humanistas. Primeros ecos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1994), 296–314.

<sup>17</sup> Mostly Genoese and frequently former residents of Seville or of other places in Western Andalusia. María J. Sarabia, 'Presencia italiana en la Nueva España y su conexión sevillana (1520–1575)', in *Presencia italiana en Andalucía. Siglos XIV–XVII* (Seville: 1989), 427–462. Esteban Ferrufino, natural of Alessandria and resident in Mexico, may be cited as a model of successful integration. He was one of the earliest officials of the Inquisition in New Spain (AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 64, exp. 4).

<sup>18</sup> Amelia Almorza Hidalgo, 'El fracaso de la emigración genovesa en el virreinato del Perú. 1580–1640', in *Génova y la Monarquía Hispánica. 1528–1713* (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia, 2011), 889–913.

<sup>19</sup> Clive Griffin, 'La primera imprenta en México y sus oficiales', in Idalia García and Pedro Rueda (comp.), *Leer en tiempos de la colonia: imprenta, bibliotecas y lectores en la Nueva España* (Mexico: UNAM, 2010), 3–19. José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima. 1584–1824* (Santiago de Chile, 1894).

respectively. At the same time, must also be highlighted the important mediation role played by those Spaniards that, prior to their voyage to America, had spent some time in Italy. This is the case of the Sevillian poet Gutierre de Cetina, member of the commercial oligarchy; Gutierre settled in Italy in 1538, following his mentor, the Viceroy of Sicily Fernando Gonzaga, and established contact with the local academies and poetic circles; after this Italian phase, which lasted a decade, he made a first trip to New Spain where he finally settled, dying in Puebla around 1557.<sup>20</sup>

The constant exchange between Italian and Spanish nationals soon resulted in several dictionaries and glossaries aimed at easing the comprehension and learning of the respective languages.<sup>21</sup> The first full Spanish-Italian dictionary was published in Seville in 1570. It is the *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*, written by the Sevillian Cristóbal de las Casas.<sup>22</sup> Knowing Italian was without doubt an advisable skill for merchants, but it was also valued among highly educated individuals above other vernacular languages.<sup>23</sup> The advantages of speaking Italian were stressed by Las Casas' preface to his *Vocabulario*:

...coming to our Spain [...] before contact was made with foreign peoples we did not have that culture which we now have in abundance. Because even if we leave aside the arts of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and others which we have thence received, we can easily see how much happiness has been brought in by the understanding of some languages which we previously did not know about and the Spanish language. Knowing this, men well disposed to wisdom have endeavoured to know foreign languages and so grasp their

<sup>20</sup> José Manuel Rico García, 'Gutierre de Cetina (Sevilla, ¿1514–157?—Mexico, 1557?)', in Pablo Jauralde Pou (dir.), *Diccionario filológico de literatura española. Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Castalia, 2009), 237–256. The case of the doctor Pablo de la Torre, a 44 years old natural from Logroño accused of blasphemy in Veracruz in 1551, is similar to that of the Sevillian poet. During his trial he declared having left Spain to visit Rome—where he studied grammar—in the company of a religious uncle. His Italian studies continued in Bologna, where he studied art, and finally in Padua, where he studied medicine before settling in America at the age of 28 (AGN. Inquisición, vol. 2, Exp. 13.)

<sup>21</sup> Annamaria Gallina, *Contributi alla storia della lessicografia italo-spagnola dei secoli XVI e XVII* (Firenze, Leo. S. Olschki-Editore, 1959).

<sup>22</sup> The book was printed by Alonso Escribano in 1570 and paid for by the book merchant Francisco de Aguilar. Carlos A. González Sánchez and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *Orbe tipográfico...*, 47. There is a facsimile edition: *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas Toscana y Castellana de Cristóbal de las Casas*, ed. A. David Kossoff (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1988). The work was reprinted at least a dozen times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only one of these was printed in Seville (in 1583) while the rest were issued in Venice, Annamaria Gallina, *Contributi alla storia della lessicografia italo-spagnola...*

<sup>23</sup> Emilio Blanco, 'El castellano y las otras lenguas: la traducción', in Victor Infantes, François Lopez and Jean-François Botrel (dirs.), *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España, 1472–1914* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003) 180–187.

riches and bring them to our nation. Among these, the most full of treasure and easier to understand is the Tuscanian language, pursued by all, because there is not a man that does not wish to know it, and with reason.<sup>24</sup>

Italian books had a significant presence in the Spanish kingdoms even before the invention of the printing press.<sup>25</sup> These books reached Spain in various ways. Manuel Peña, in his work on Barcelona's readership, stressed the importance of friendship relationships, trade and travel between the two peninsulas. Equally, this author highlights the fact that soldiers, government officials, clergymen and nobles acted as middlemen between book centres in Italy and Barcelona,<sup>26</sup> a phenomenon that can also be found in other Spanish cities. In Seville, for instance, Hernando Colón (1488–1539), son of Christopher Columbus, created one of the most impressive libraries of the sixteenth century, with over 15,000 volumes. Being the son of a Genoese man, it is not strange that many of the books in his library were in the Italian language. In fact, Italian was the second most common language in his library, with 894 books in the language, falling only below Latin.<sup>27</sup>

The selection of Seville and Mexico for the purposes of comparison responds to a number of factors: Seville was the economic capital of the Spanish monarchy and from 1503 also the seat of the *Casa de la Contratación*, the institution in charge of controlling the traffic of goods and persons

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<sup>24</sup> '...viniendo a nuestra España [...] antes que vudiesse trato con las naciones estrangeras, no teníamos aquel culto, y policía, que aora gozamos tan copiosamente. Pues dexado a parte, el ornamento de Architectura, Escultura, Pintura, y otras artes, que de allá nos han venido, bien vemos, con quanta felicidad, por la comunicación de varias lenguas, han entrado las buenas letras en España, de que antes teníamos tanta falta. Conociendo bien esto, los hombres bien aficionados, y amigos de saber, han pretendido el conocimiento de las lenguas estrangeras, para gozar de la riqueza dellas, y trasladarla a nuestra nación. Entre las quales, vna de las que mayor tesoro tiene, y mejor comodidad para alcançarla, es la Toscana. Cuyo conocimiento ha procurado, y procura tanta gente, que ya no hay hombre, que no pretenda, o dessee alomenos aprenderla: y cierto con muy gran razón.'

<sup>25</sup> During the Late Middle Ages, the legal texts in use in Castile were imported, for example, from Italy or France, even those written by Spanish scholars, in Bologna. Santiago Aguadé Nieto, *Libro y cultura italianos...* 68; literary works also made their way into Spain, especially during the fifteenth century, to the point that 'los títulos presentes en las bibliotecas españolas del siglo XV difieren bien poco de los que habían llenado los momentos de ocio de Francesco Petrarca', Ángel Gómez Moreno, *España y la Italia de los humanistas. Primeros Ecos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1994), 40.

<sup>26</sup> Manuel Peña, *El laberinto de los libros...* pp. 171–173.

<sup>27</sup> Klaus Wagner and Manuel Carrera, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa in lingua italiana della Biblioteca Colombina di Siviglia* (Modena: Panini, 1991), 14. Also, Klaus Wagner, 'La presenza del libro italiano nella Spagna della prima metà del secolo XVI attraverso le annotazioni di Ferdinando Colombo: l'esempio delle tipografie de Roma e Venezia', *Rapporti e scambi tra umanesimo italiano ed umanesimo europeo* (Milan: Nuevo Orizzonti, 2001), 599–619.

with America and Asia;<sup>28</sup> Mexico, on the other hand, was built over the ruins of Tenochtitlan, the former Aztec capital conquered in 1521, and became in 1535 the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Although separated by thousands of miles, both cities were in this period important nodes of a network that spanned the globe. In principle, the organisation and the governance of the newly acquired territories followed Castilian models, although America's uniqueness soon demanded the application of special regulations. Additionally, the populations were similar in numbers if not in composition below the elite level.

Mexico, the most important city in America and at the same time focus of European culture in the New World,<sup>29</sup> had between the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century around 100,000 inhabitants, of which a mere 10% were Spanish, many of them members of the elite. It was among the members of this elite that we may find a keener interest in the arts, literature and science,<sup>30</sup> as clearly shown by their libraries. The rest of the population was indigenous, despite the sharp demographic drop suffered by indigenous groups after the conquest, alongside blacks and mulattoes.<sup>31</sup> On the other side of the Atlantic, Seville was one of the most populous cities in Europe during the last third of the sixteenth century, with over 100,000 inhabitants, although the seventeenth century brought the beginning of an inexorable decline.<sup>32</sup> The city was inhabited by a large quantity of non-Spanish Europeans, mostly Italian, Portuguese and Flemish, and although in theory the emigration of these groups to America was restricted, they also became common in Mexico. Racial tensions were of a very different nature in each case, but they were part of daily life in both cities. In contrast with New Spain, other ethnic groups such as the *Moriscos* or black and mulatto slaves were present in Seville as significant minorities.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Antonio Acosta, Adolfo González and Enriqueta Vila (coords.), *La Casa de la Contratación y la navegación entre España y las Indias* (Sevilla: CSIC, 2004).

<sup>29</sup> María del Carmen León Cázares, 'A cielo abierto. La convivencia en plazas y calles', in Antonio Rubial García (coord.): *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México. II. La ciudad Barroca* (México: FCE, 2005), 19–45. We must not forget that the first printing press and the first university in America were established in Mexico.

<sup>30</sup> Raquel Chang-Rodríguez (coord.), *Historia de la Literatura Mexicana. 2. La cultura letrada en la Nueva España del siglo XVII* (Mexico: FCE, 2002), 11.

<sup>31</sup> José Luis Gasch Tomás, *Material Culture and Consumption of Asian goods in the Atlantic World. The Manila Galleon from New Spain to Castille, 1565–c.1700* (Thesis defended at the European University Institute, 2012).

<sup>32</sup> Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y Ocaso de Sevilla...*, 71–73.

<sup>33</sup> Manuel F. Fernández and Rafael M. Pérez, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios: moriscos en Sevilla* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2009); Alfonso Franco Silva, *Los esclavos de Sevilla* (Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1980).

The presence of these groups is relevant for the history of reading in Spain and America because, in principle, they were far removed from reading and, most particularly, from the most elitist forms of it, such as humanist writings and Italian poetry. It should be noted, however, that the Spanish *Moriscos* were subject to an intense process of evangelisation, similarly to the indigenous peoples in America, in which books played a central role. In the American case, most books being produced by the printing presses were in fact used for this purpose. These books were not however aimed directly at these groups; rather their access would be filtered through the mediation of priests. It is, at any rate, possible to find notable exceptions.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, since all voyages to America had to start in Seville, the influence of the city over the capital of New Spain was soon significant, although as the seventeenth century advanced the *Criollos* progressively distanced themselves from the metropolis in search of their own identity.<sup>35</sup>

Regarding the history of books, the relationship between Seville and the city of Mexico during the sixteenth and seventeenth century was also a very close one. Already in the first half of the sixteenth century the Cromberger, a German printing dynasty living in Seville, gained from the crown a monopoly for the export of books to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and sent a representative, Giovanni Pauli, to install the first printing press in the American continent.<sup>36</sup> After the monopoly held by the Cromberger ceased, the book trade with America remained under the control of the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, so all books arriving at Mexico from anywhere in Europe had to go through Seville first (at least, all of those that were legally exported).<sup>37</sup>

Books, whatever their subject, were a potent instrument towards the westernisation of America, since they were pieces of European culture directly implanted in the New World. Similarly, they were intensively

<sup>34</sup> Nora Jiménez, 'Príncipe indígena y latino. Una compra de libros de Antonio Huitziméngari. 1559', in *Relaciones*, vol. 23, n. 91, 133–162.

<sup>35</sup> John H. Elliott, 'Spain and America in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume I. Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 337; María A. Pastor, *Crisis y recomposición social. Nueva España en el tránsito del siglo XVI al XVII* (México: FCE, 1999).

<sup>36</sup> Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: the history of a printing and merchant dynasty* (New York: Claredon Press, 1988).

<sup>37</sup> Carlos A. González Sánchez, *Los mundos del libro. Medios de difusión de la cultura occidental en las Indias de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999); Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias. Siglo XVII* (Seville: CSIC, 2005).



used for the evangelisation of the indigenous peoples, making the production (often in local printing presses) of catechisms, glossaries and grammatical treatises in American languages a common feature. As colonial society and institutions took shape, the demand for books, mostly imported from Europe, increased.<sup>38</sup> Already in the sixteenth century, literary production in New Spain was growing in parallel with this increasing demand for books. Regarding poetry, the American production presented Italian influences similar to those prevalent in the metropolis.<sup>39</sup> In fact, studies of Latin-American culture carried out over the past few decades have rejected the traditional idea of “obscurantism and cultural backwardness caused by the restrictions on reading”.<sup>40</sup>

Several works have analysed the book trade between Europe and America, and many others have focused on readers from different cities and regions on both continents during the Modern Age. Few, however, have taken a comparative approach to reading patterns, especially with great European cities and their colonies overseas, and their mutual influences (if any). The current paper thus aims to take a global perspective on issues hitherto observed at the local scale, to ascertain whether the readers of Italian books in Seville and Mexico shared a common profile.

The influence of Italian culture on the humanists of the 1500s is clearly shown by their own writings and by their libraries.<sup>41</sup> For this work, however, it is equally important to ascertain the influence of Italian culture and language not only with regard to scholars and writers but to the whole of the reading community in Seville and Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But how can we explore the weight of Italian culture and language in the Sevillian and Mexican libraries during this period? Paul O. Kristeller has pointed out that “If we wish to interpret the Italian humanist books in foreign libraries as evidence for the diffusion of Italian

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<sup>38</sup> Irving Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 93–102.

<sup>39</sup> Emilio Carrilla, ‘Poesía novohispana del siglo XVI’, in Beatriz Garza Cuarón and Georges Baudot (coords.), *Historia de la literatura mexicana. I. Las literaturas amerindias de México y la literatura en español del siglo XVI* (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1996), 416–449.

<sup>40</sup> ‘oscurantismo y atraso cultural, debido a las severas restricciones que existieron sobre lecturas e ideas’, Teodoro Hampe Martínez, *Bibliotecas privadas en el mundo colonial. La difusión de libros e ideas en el virreinato del Perú. Siglos XVI–XVII* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996), 32.

<sup>41</sup> For the Sevillian case see Juan Montero, *Fernando de Herrera y el humanismo sevillano en tiempos de Felipe II* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1998); Pedro Ruiz Pérez, *Libros y lecturas de un poeta humanista. Fernando de Herrera. 1534–1597* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1997). A more general view can be found in Mariapía Lamberti (ed.), *Petrarca y el petrarquismo en Europa y América* (México: UNAM, 2006).

humanism during the Renaissance period ... we must limit our discussion to those manuscripts and books that have been preserved abroad ever since the period of the Renaissance itself".<sup>42</sup> The analysis of the rich bibliographic heritage preserved in Spanish and American libraries is an obvious strategy, although often books remain mute on the identity of their owners, making it especially difficult to detect patterns. For this reason, my main source for this work will be probate inventories and other similar notarial documents (auctions, bookshop inventories, etc.).

Notarial documents are a rich source for the study of the history of books during the Early Modern Period.<sup>43</sup> They are, however, a source that must be approached with due precaution, because of the lack of representation, especially with regard to particular social groups, often including the majority of the population,<sup>44</sup> and the interpretive difficulties due to the lack of precision frequently shown by book inventories.<sup>45</sup> Despite these difficulties the use of notarial sources has proven useful in increasing our understanding of the reality of reading in some cities and among certain groups in Modern Period Spain.<sup>46</sup> In the Mexican case, and despite Irving A. Leonard's warning after his study of Baroque private libraries, carried out several decades ago, that "much evidence of their existence emerges from notarial records of the period, such as inventories, wills,

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<sup>42</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton: University Press, 1980), 79.

<sup>43</sup> Trevor J. Dadson, 'Las bibliotecas de la nobleza: dos inventarios y un librero, año de 1625', in Aurora Egido and José Enrique Laplana (eds.), *Mecenazgo y Humanidades en tiempos de Lastanosa. Homenaje a Domingo Ynduráin* (Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2008), 253–302.

<sup>44</sup> Roger Chartier, 'De la historia del libro a la historia de la lectura', in *Libros, lecturas y lectores en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1993), 13–40; Robert Darton, 'Historia de la lectura', in Peter Burke (ed.), *Formas de hacer historia* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1991), 177–208.

<sup>45</sup> Frequently, officials showed little diligence in registering book inventories accurately, and it is not unusual for them to have merely noted their presence, without giving further details about their number, title or language. Benito Rial Costas, 'Sixteenth-Century Private Book Inventories and Some Problems Related to their Analysis', in *Library & Information History*, vol. 26, Number 1 (March 2010), 70–82.

<sup>46</sup> Philippe Berger, *Libro y lectura en la Valencia del Renacimiento* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987); Manuel Peña Díaz, *Cataluña en el Renacimiento: libros y lenguas. Barcelona 1473–1600* (Lleida: Milenio, 1996); idem, *El laberinto de los libros: Historia cultural de la Barcelona del Quinientos* (Madrid: Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1997); Anastasio Rojo Vega, 'Libros y bibliotecas en Valladolid (1530–1660)', in *Bulletin hispanique* (99, 1, 1997), 193–210; Pedro M. Cátedra and Anastasio Rojo, *Bibliotecas y lecturas de mujeres. Siglo XVI* (Salamanca: IHLL, 2004); Ángel Weruaga Prieto, *Lectores y bibliotecas en la Salamanca moderna, 1600–1789* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2008); Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *Lectores y libros en la ciudad de Sevilla. 1550–1600* (Barcelona: Rubedo, 2011).

promissory notes, and the like",<sup>47</sup> the truth is that the most common source has remained the Goods of Deceased collection (*Expedientes de Bienes de Difuntos*) kept in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville (which only refer to those Spaniards deceased in America whose heirs were still in Spain)<sup>48</sup> or documents issued by the Inquisition.<sup>49</sup> In consequence, the systematic study of notarial sources has been neglected and the libraries in New Spain are still little known.<sup>50</sup>

The documentation used for the present chapter is kept in several archives, both in Spain and America; for Seville the author has visited the *Sección de Protocolos Notariales*, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla (AHPSe), resulting in the compilation of 316 inventories listing at least one book between 1563 and 1630. For the Mexican case, the information found in the Archivo Histórico de Notarías, Ciudad de México (AHNM), has been complemented with the inventories and auctions included in the aforementioned *Expedientes de Bienes de Difuntos*,<sup>51</sup> along with the inventories found in the *Sección de Inquisición*, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (AGN).<sup>52</sup> Overall, for Mexico it has been possible to compile 56 inventories or auctions listing at least one book, between 1562 and 1630. The sample of inventories regarding Seville and Mexico is therefore uneven, but is representative enough to give a valuable profile of readership in both cities.

Although for some cases this has been impossible, in more than 70% of subjects a precise professional characterisation has been achieved (in the case of women, the professional category is that of their closest relative). On this basis, we can detect similarities and variations between both cities: in both, seamen and farmers seem to be the farthest removed from literary culture, and in both the clergy amounts to a considerable

<sup>47</sup> Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 2007), 80. The appointment of the first public scribe in Mexico was in 1524, soon after the conquest, Ivonne Mijares Ramírez, *Escribanos y escrituras públicas en el siglo XVI: el caso de la ciudad de México* (Mexico: UNAM, 1997).

<sup>48</sup> Idalia García Aguilar, 'Los Bienes de Difuntos como fronteras de conocimiento de las bibliotecas novohispanas', in *Relaciones*, 114 (Primavera 2008, vol. XXIX), 163–204.

<sup>49</sup> César Manrique Figueroa, 'Libros, lectores y bibliotecas del México colonial', in *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*, vol. 3 (July, 2008), 190–200.

<sup>50</sup> '...siguen siendo un territorio cultural poco conocido' Idalia García Aguilar, 'El conocimiento histórico del libro y la biblioteca novohispanos. Representación de las fuentes originales', in *Información, Cultura y Sociedad*, 17 (2007), 69–96.

<sup>51</sup> I am thankful to Dr. José Luis Gasch Tomás for his information on those documents listing the possessions of the dead that included books.

<sup>52</sup> Some of these were already published by Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales. 1585–1694', in *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, X (1939) 4, 663–907.

Table 1. Social and professional distribution amongst book owners.

Group	Seville	Mexico
Clergy	74 (23.4%)	12 (21.4%)
Aristocracy/ Urban patricians	31 (9.8%)	3 (5.35%)
Liberal Professionals	52 (16.45%)	3 (5.35%)
Government officials	8 (2.5%)	3 (5.35%)
Merchants	45 (14.2%)	11 (19.6%)
Artisans	25 (7.9%)	6 (10.71%)
Seamen	2 (0.6%)	2 (3.57%)
Farmers	1 (0.3%)	0 (0%)
Unidentified	78 (24.6%)	16 (28.57%)
Total	316	56

proportion of readers. In Seville, the group formed by noblemen and urban patricians is more prominent, possibly reflecting a higher proportion of aristocrats to total population. In contrast, in Mexico merchants feature noticeably, almost coming to a level with clergymen (although their libraries tended to be much smaller and were on some occasions probably aimed at trade rather than personal use). Liberal professionals, which in Seville are the second most common group, seem to have been less prominent in Mexico, although it must be noted that to date it has been impossible to find a library owned by a lawyer in Mexico, where they nevertheless abounded. It seems likely that there was a higher proportion of liberal professionals in Seville, and that their libraries (often extensive and expensive) were easier to acquire in Spain.

It must be clarified that in most cases we cannot really talk about full libraries, but about small book collections, sometimes with but one volume. Almost a third of the Sevillian inventories only include between one and five books. The size of these collections is even smaller in the case of women, who rarely possessed more than a dozen books in their inventories.<sup>53</sup> The Mexican case is similar in this regard: almost 70% of inventories referring to men list under 20 books,<sup>54</sup> a proportion that soars to 100%

<sup>53</sup> Natalia Maillard Álvarez, 'Lecturas femeninas en el Renacimiento: mujeres y libros en Sevilla durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI', in *Mujer y cultura escrita. Del mito al siglo XXI* (Gijón: Trea, 2005), 167–182.

<sup>54</sup> In total, 32 inventories included under 20 books, and 19 (41%) 5 or under.

in the case of women.<sup>55</sup> Despite this, the analysis of the Mexican case also yields some very well furnished libraries, although once more the information needs to be regarded with caution: for example, it is very likely that Don Alonso Fernández de Bonilla, Archbishop of Mexico, owned more books than the three missals and the breviary sold in his auction, held in the capital of New Spain in September 1601.<sup>56</sup> Merely twelve years later, the inventory of items brought back to Spain by the Archbishop Don Juan Pérez de la Serna included, along with liturgical books, 422 theological and humanities books of different sizes. They were valued at 3,000 *pesos* (inclusive of the cost of land and sea transport).<sup>57</sup> The libraries with more than 20 volumes were in almost every case in the hands of clergymen or liberal professionals, alongside a few merchants and members of the urban middle classes.<sup>58</sup>

It is on the other hand surprising that despite the quantitative difference in the number of subjects from each city, the proportion of men and women owning books are, according to the lists consulted, almost identical.

Table 2. Gender distribution amongst book owners.

	Seville	Mexico
Women	46 (14.55%)	8 (14.28%)
Men	270 (85.44%)	48 (85.71%)
Total	316	56

<sup>55</sup> Of the eight Mexican women whose inventories included at least one book, six listed between one and seven volumes, which sometimes did not even belong to them; for example, the inventory of Francisca Preciada, written in 1613, includes a copy of *Flos Sanctorum* and six books on architecture that in all probability belonged to her husband, Damián Dávila Mesura, master builder (AHNM, Notario José Rodríguez, vol. 3838). On the basis of the inventories compiled, we can confirm that the women of New Spain preferred religious and spiritual books.

<sup>56</sup> AHNM, Notario Andrés Moreno, vol. 2467, ff. 1r-26r. A similar case is presented by the doctor Salvador Cerón Baena, priest and canon in Mexico Cathedral: although his auction only sold two breviaries (AHNM, Not. Andrés Moreno, vol. 2474, ff. 308r-313r), in his last will he bequeathed his library to be divided in equal parts between the Convent of San Diego and the House of the Jesuits in the city of Mexico (AHNM, Not. Andrés Moreno, vol. 2474, ff. 364v-368v).

<sup>57</sup> AHNM, Notario Andrés Moreno, vol. 2471, ff. 297r-309r. Unfortunately, the document does not give the title of these works.

<sup>58</sup> The largest library in our sample was that of the Archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna, followed by the doctor Francisco Ortiz Navarrete, physician of the Viceroy, with over 300 volumes (AGI, Contratación 543, N.1, R.3). Also a physician, in this case employed by the Inquisition, Juan de la Fuente owned over 100 books in 1562 (AGN, vol. 63, exp. 82). In 1602 Antón de la Fuente owned over 200 volumes, not as a personal collection, but as goods for sale (AHNM, Not. Andrés Moreno, vol. 2467, ff. 465r-486r).

Before we delve into the in depth analysis of the readership of Italian authors in Seville and Mexico we should consider the value of our inventories in shedding light on the reader's profile and their knowledge of the Italian language. It is difficult to be precise in this regard, because scribes often did not bother to note down the language or titles of the books in the inventories. It is likely, for instance, that 'the drawer of my reading books', valued at 3,400 *maravedíes* and included by Andrea Pescioni, a Seville-based Florentine printer, in the inventory of his wife's possessions in 1601, included books in his mother tongue, but it is impossible to be sure.<sup>59</sup> Although still a minority language, Italian was the third most popular language in the libraries under analysis, after Latin and Spanish. According to the notarial documents from Seville, it was the only foreign language with a significant presence, even above Portuguese, despite the considerable similarities between the latter language and Spanish, and the presence of an important Portuguese community in Seville. The same may be said with regard to French, which until the thirteenth century had been the European literary language of reference.<sup>60</sup> Thereafter, French would be progressively replaced by Italian,<sup>61</sup> to a large degree following the publication of Dante's *The Divine Comedy* and its popularity among a new cultivated readership of books in vernacular languages.

In Seville, a total of 21 inventories including Italian books have been found (6.1% of the total), nine of which refer to clergymen, followed by urban patricians (five), liberal professionals and merchants (three each), and artisans (one). Although the number of inventories including books in Italian and referring to clergymen is higher, the best-stocked libraries were in the hands of the aristocracy. The best example for the sixteenth century is Don Pedro de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, a minor member of an important ducal house.<sup>62</sup> His library, inventoried in 1570, included a hundred books on miscellaneous topics, of which more than 10% were written in Italian. For the seventeenth century the most prominent case is that of Hernando

<sup>59</sup> 'el cajón de libros de mi leer', AHPSe, Leg. 3567, f. 819.

<sup>60</sup> 'In the second half of the twelfth century, imitation of the Provençal lyric style spread throughout France, Germany and the Latin countries of the Mediterranean', Erich Auerbach, *Introduction to Romance Languages*...107.

<sup>61</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Lenguaje literario y público en la Baja Latinidad y en la Edad Media* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1969), 310; Santiago Aguadé, *Libro y cultura italianos*, 125.

<sup>62</sup> Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, 'Música, libros y torneos: don Pedro de Zúñiga y el patrimonio de un segundón de la nobleza castellana', in Carlos A. González, Manuel F. Fernández and Natalia Maillard (ed.), *Testigo del tiempo, memoria del Universo. Cultura escrita y sociedad en el mundo ibérico. Siglos XV–XVIII* (Barcelona: Rubeo, 2009), 59–98.

Díaz de Medina,<sup>63</sup> *correo mayor* and *veinticuatro* (member of the local government of Seville). His library, inventoried in 1622, was divided into three groups according to language: Spanish, Latin, and Italian. His 109 books covered very diverse topics. Although readers in Italian seemed to prefer historical and literary works, there were books in Italian for all tastes, including Italian translations (even of Spanish authors). As pointed out by Cristóbal de las Casas in the preface to his *Vocabulario*:

...apart from the need for it, due to us being in permanent contact with Italians, they have always shown the desire and the diligence to adorn their language and to enrich their land with all manner of fine words, so they [the Italians] have not left a language go, be it Greek or Latin, without incorporating it to their own language. And similarly, they never cease writing extraordinary stories and true doctrine in that Tuscanian language (which they cultivate with all their soul) along with all manner of sciences and good arts; so other peoples lacking their own language will be able to profit from all this by the use of the Tuscanian language; those that know it will be able to learn the new and the rare, and will be thus very much satisfied.<sup>64</sup>

Following the presentation of the evidence, we must reach the conclusion that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the position of Italian as the foreign language of preference among Seville's readership remained uncontested. The libraries including Italian books in the city were in general of considerable dimensions, in some occasions contained over a hundred volumes. In fact, most of these are among the largest libraries found. It is not always possible to ascertain the language in which they were written, but everything seems to suggest that readers of Italian books enjoyed Renaissance literature and historical texts. Another common feature is that all of them belonged to men.

What kind of impact, if any, did Italian have on the American readership? What kind of reader was interested in the language of Petrarch in the New World? We know that Italian learning reached the most remote corners of the Spanish Empire, far away from Europe. By the beginning of the seventeenth century Italian was spoken by certain members of the

<sup>63</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 10071, ff.639r-713r.

<sup>64</sup> '...demás de la neccessidad que ay, por el contino trato con la gente Italiana, ha auido siempre, y ay tanta curiossidad, y diligencia en adornar, y ennoblecer su tierra de todo género de buenas letras, que no han dexado [los italianos] en griego, ni en latín, ni en otras lenguas cosa, que no han passado a la suya. Y assí mesmo muchos raríssimos ingenios, y grande doctrina de aquella nasción han escripto, y escriuen siempre en su lengua Toscana (que procuran con todas fuerzas ilustrar) toda la variedad de ciencias, y buenas artes: de manera que los que carescen de otras lenguas, podrán con sólo esta, valerse bien para gozar largamente de todas las facultades, que en ella hallarán: y los que las saben, verán cosas nuevas, y peregrinas, que recebirán grande gusto, y entera satisfación'.

Peruvian elite, who even debated about the most adequate ways to do it. This was reflected in Diego Dávalos y Figueroa's *Miscelánea Austral* (in its *XIII coloquio*) eloquently entitled "*Que trata las eccelencias de la lengua toscana, y opiniones que ay della*":

Some that speak it say that it must be spoken as though it was Spanish, because it is easier to speak it and to understand it that way. I believe that they are mistaken. Others say that it must be spoken like the Tuscanian themselves speak it because otherwise spoken [the Spanish way] the result is neither Tuscanian nor Spanish, but only confusion. I think that these are in the right.<sup>65</sup>

In our Mexican sample, four inventories include Italian books (7'14% of the total). The profile of the reader is similar to the Sevillian case: the physician Juan de la Fuente,<sup>66</sup> who travelled to Mexico in 1562 with a copy of the *Inamoramento de Orlando* and a French translation of Pietro Bembo's *Gli Asolani*; the official Juan Pérez de Sepúlveda, whose 1582 inventory included a book in Italian ('*en lengua italiana*'),<sup>67</sup> the clergyman and scholar Hernando Gutiérrez, who left in his will four books in Tuscanian, mostly of a religious nature, later acquired by a scholar and a friar;<sup>68</sup> finally, Simón García Becerril, who in 1620 presented the Inquisition with a list of his books in Spanish, Latin and Italian ("*Memoria de los libros que yo [...] tengo en romance y en latín y en lengua toscana*"), including five books in Tuscanian and a copy of Cristóbal de las Casas's dictionary.<sup>69</sup> The bookseller Pablo García de Rivera bought several books in 1576, among which we can find a *History of Mexico* in Italian.<sup>70</sup> The sample is small, but

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<sup>65</sup> 'Algunos que la professan quieren que se hable como la española, en lo que no creo aciertan, aunque alegan ser assí más fácil de hablar y que se dexa mejor de entender. Otros dizen que a de ser como los mesmos toscanos la hablan, pues siendo assí [hablada a la española] ni es lengua toscana ni española, sino confusión, y éstos me parece que dicen mejor'. Diego Dávalos Figueroa, *Primera parte de la Miscelánea Austral* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1602), 51. In his work, Diego Dávalos praised several Italian poets and stressed the superiority of Tuscanian over all the other languages with regard to poetry. He also included an Italian sonnet written by himself and another in which Spanish and Italian verses are used in combination. Alicia de Colombí-Mounguió, 'Petrarquismo en el Virreinato del Perú', in *Petrarca y el petrarquismo en Europa y América...*, 257–269.

<sup>66</sup> AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 63, Exp. 82.

<sup>67</sup> AGI, Contratación, 477B, N. 2, R.12.

<sup>68</sup> AHNM, Not. 555, vol. 3836, ff. 1542r–1544v.

<sup>69</sup> Irving A. Leonard, 'One man's library, Mexico City, 1620', in *Estudios Hispánicos. Homenaje a Archer M. Huntington* (Mass.: Wellesley, 1952), 327–334. Also published in Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales...'.

<sup>70</sup> AHNM, Not. 2, vol. 5, ff.1389–1392v. The title *Historia de la India Mexica en Italiano*, might refer to the *Historia di Messico* by Francisco López de Gomara, printed in Venice in 1573.



it suggests that Italian was also the most widely represented foreign language in Mexican libraries, even above American indigenous languages. Books written in the latter have only been found in three libraries, all belonging to clergymen.

In order to assess the impact of Italian culture on Sevillian and Mexican readership over time, I shall divide the works of Italian authors (regardless of the language in which they were printed) into four main groups: law, sciences and techniques, religion, and the humanities (understood in the sense conveyed by the *Diccionario de Autoridades*: "Humanities: The study of literature and other disciplines, such as history, poetry and others").<sup>71</sup> The first two groups, with notable exceptions, are predominantly professional in nature, which significantly affects the profile of the readers. At any rate, a common pattern may be found in all groups: the influence of Medieval authors is still very much alive, in combination with more recent trends.

The penetration of Italian law into Spain was already under way by the Middle Ages. This occurred in several ways: some of the professors employed by the new Castilian universities were of Italian origin,<sup>72</sup> and there was a large number of Spanish law students at the University of Bologna, a phenomenon that was to persist for centuries.<sup>73</sup> From the *Quattrocento* (and even earlier), Humanist criticism of old analytical methods aimed to undermine the authority of Medieval scholars, whose works dominated the interpretation of Roman law. These criticisms were to a large degree the responsibility of humanists, not lawyers, and they had significant political connotations. Legal Humanism, also known as *mos gallicus* because it was particularly influential in French culture,<sup>74</sup> found its way to the libraries of Spanish lawyers, although the analytical and teaching methods of medieval authors, known as *mos italicus*, were still preferred overall.<sup>75</sup> What do inventories say in this regard? We have not found any inventories referring to the libraries of Mexican lawyers,

<sup>71</sup> 'Humanidad: Se llama a la erudición y buenas letras: como la historia, la poesía y otras', *Diccionario de Autoridades*, vol. II (Madrid: Gredos, 1990), 189.

<sup>72</sup> Santiago Aguadé Nieto, *Libro y cultura italianos...* 43–44 and 65.

<sup>73</sup> A. García García, 'Escolares ibéricos en Bolonia, 1300–1330', in *Estudios sobre los orígenes de las Universidades Españolas* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1988), 113–134. On Sevillian students at this university see José Sánchez Herrero and Isabel Montes, 'Los colegiales sevillanos del colegio español de San Clemente de Bolonia (1368–1650)', in *Estudios sobre los orígenes de las Universidades Españolas...* 135–204.

<sup>74</sup> Mario Ascheri, *Introduzione storica al diritto moderno e contemporaneo* (Torino: G. Giappichelli Editore, 2008), 53–67.

<sup>75</sup> Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *Manual de historia del derecho español* (Madrid: Gredos, 1997), 308.

but those found in Seville are among the best-stocked in the whole sample, often including over a hundred volumes. They are, in general, libraries with a clear professional theme and which must have involved a heavy investment. Italian authors of the *mos italicus*, such as Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1313–1357), are invariably present, though sharing shelves with Italian authors of the new legal Humanism, such as Andrea Alciato (1492–1550).<sup>76</sup> There seems to be no significant difference between the readership of each of these trends.

On the other hand, books on scientific and technical disciplines also were of a marked professional nature, although in this case exceptions are more significant and the readership expands. Among the various disciplines, medicine features most prominently, in consonance with the importance attributed to it at the time.<sup>77</sup> The importance of Medieval Italian physicians is clearly reflected in the Sevillian and Mexican libraries (Guglielmo de Saliceto, Lanfranco, Mondino, etc.),<sup>78</sup> mostly among those on the shelves of medical practitioners, who also owned more recent books, for example by the anatomist Gabriele Falloppio and by Antonio Musa Brasavola.<sup>79</sup> But there were in addition works with a wider readership, both in Seville and in Mexico, such as the famous *Secreti de Alessio Piamontese*, written by Girolamo Ruscelli and including all kind of recipes (not only remedies for illness).<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Both authors can be found in the libraries of the inquisitor Andrés Gasco in 1566 (Klaus Wagner, 'Lecturas y otras aficiones del inquisidor Andrés Gasco', in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, CLXXVI, Madrid, 1979, pp. 149–181), the bachelors Alonso de Soto Calderón in 1568 (AHPS, Leg. 3438, ff. 598v–604v) and Pedro Bejarano in 1574 (AHPS, Leg. 3464, ff. 951v–959v), and the doctor Cristóbal de Zambrano in 1574 (AHPS, Leg. 3467, ff. 670r–672v).

<sup>77</sup> In Castile, for example, nearly half of all scientific books printed were medical texts. José Pardo Tomás, 'La difusión de la información científica y técnica', in José M. López Piñero (dir.), *Historia de la Ciencia y de la técnica en la Corona de Castilla. III. Siglos XVI y XVII* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002), 189–217.

<sup>78</sup> Pedro Laín Entralgo, *Historia Universal de la Medicina. III. Edad Media* (Barcelona: Salvat, 1981), 254–255, 300–304.

<sup>79</sup> The *Observationes anatomicae*, by Fallopio, was for instance in the library of the Sevillian physician Martín López de las Cuevas in 1570, alongside two of Brasavola's titles (AHPSe, Leg. 16037, ff. 789v–794v); the physician Juan de la Fuente also travelled to Mexico in 1562 with two of Brasavola's books (AGN, Inquisición, vol. 63, exp. 82).

<sup>80</sup> In Seville it may be found in the libraries belonging to two clergymen, a merchant, a nobleman, and a woman, all between 1580 and 1600; while in Mexico the book features in the auction of Juan Sarabia, held in 1596. It was sold alongside another book for six *tomines* (AHNM, Not. Andrés Moreno, Vol. 2464, f. 22r–23r). Four copies of the book were bought in 1576 by the Mexican bookseller Alonso Losa to a Sevillian colleague (AHNM, Not. 2, Lib. 5, ff. 2108v–2116v) and in 1584 the bookseller Pablo de Rivera bought another one for 4 *reales* (AHNM, Not. 497, Lib. 1, March 28th).

Apart from medicine, the readers, especially nobles, were interested in other sciences and techniques similarly cultivated by Italian authors: architecture, for example, attracted Don Alonso Martel, who owned *I dieci libri de l'architettura* by Leon Battista Alberti, and *De architectura libri quinque* by the Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio. Horsemanship was at the time considered an eminently aristocratic skill and it is indeed in two libraries owned by noblemen where the works written on the topic by the Neapolitan Federico Grisoni may be found: that in the hands of Don Pedro de Zúñiga in 1570, and of Hernando Díaz de Medina in 1622.<sup>81</sup> The latter library includes a rich Italian section, reflecting the eclectic and curious tastes of the nobleman. Among other topics, which we shall examine presently, Díaz de Medina took an interest in military techniques, painting, mathematics, and the art of navigation. None of the Italian authors connected with these topics, however, feature in Mexican libraries.

Religious books written by Italian authors also feature in several libraries, both in Seville and in Mexico. They can be divided into two groups: scholastic theologians, most prominently Thomas Aquinas, whose importance did not recede during the period under study, and works more clearly focused on spirituality and devotion, where a change can be detected over time following the spirit of the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation. The first group of authors (Aquinas, Azo, Mazzolini, etc), whose works were read in Latin, mostly attracted the clergy, both in Seville and in Mexico, whereas the second group had a wider readership and predominantly used vernacular languages.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages a change in the religious attitude of Spanish aristocrats can be detected. This change involved more direct access to texts, either in Latin or in vernacular languages. Italian Humanism seems to have played a significant role in this transformation.<sup>82</sup> In 1570 the library owned by the nobleman Don Pedro de Zúñiga, whose taste for Italian literature has already been mentioned, includes a short but interesting selection of religious titles in this language: a book of sermons in Tuscanian, a *Ragionamento consolatorio* of the Carmelite Antonio Ricci,<sup>83</sup> and a book by Pietro Aretino on the human nature of Christ, probably *I quattro libri de humanita di Christo*, a book on biblical

<sup>81</sup> The former owned *Ordini di caualcare, et modi di conoscere le nature di cavalli*, along with the *Reglas de la caballería de la brida*, which can also be found in the latter's library.

<sup>82</sup> Santiago Aguadé, *Libros y cultura italianos...* 197.

<sup>83</sup> Antonio Ricci, *Ragionamento consolatorio del r.p.f. Antonio Ricci, teologo carmelitano, nella morte della illustrissima signora Costanza Contessa di Nuvolara* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1564).

paraphrase published in Venice in 1538 and not included in the index of forbidden books in Spain or Rome, as was the case with other works by the same author.<sup>84</sup> By the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, however, the spirit of the Counter-Reformation became increasingly prominent. Some of the most successful authors among those who lent their support to the new Church born after Trent were, once more, Italian.<sup>85</sup> In this regard, the case of Juan Bautista Herena is particularly relevant:<sup>86</sup> Herena, who died in 1619, bequeathed three religious books written in Italian (*Espejo de los lugares de la Tierra Santa, Meditaciones de la vida de Christo* and *Epístolas y Evangelios*) along with a book on the Council of Trent.<sup>87</sup> The counter-reformist theme of his collection also coincides with the portrait of Saint Charles Borromeo, Bishop of Milan, which hung in his house.<sup>88</sup> A similar case is presented by doctor Francisco Balsa, canon in the cathedral, who purchased as many as four sermon books in Italian and three works by the Italian Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino. His library also included works written by earlier theologians.<sup>89</sup>

The libraries owned by three Sevillian laymen are especially illustrative in this regard: that of the scholar Jerónimo de Santa Cruz, inventoried in 1609;<sup>90</sup> that of the painter of Portuguese origin Vasco Pereira, inventoried on the same year,<sup>91</sup> both with over a hundred volumes; and that of the

<sup>84</sup> The index published in Rome in 1557 forbid a previous work by Aretino of similar content and title, *I tre libri della humanita di Christo*, published in Venice in 1535 and in Parma a year later. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, *Index de Rome. 1557, 1559, 1564. Les premiers index romains et l'index du Concile de Trente* (Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 1990), n. 843b. Pietro Aretino never joined the Reformation, although from 1534 he wrote several biblical paraphrases inspired by Erasmus. The titles mentioned are part of this series. For them, he used the translation of the New Testament published by Italian protestant Antonio Brucioli in 1530. Raymond B. Waddington, 'Prieto Aretino, religious writer', in *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 20, 3, 277–292.

<sup>85</sup> Carlo Dionisotti, 'La letteratura italiana nell'età del Concilio', in *Il Concilio di Trento e la Riforma Tridentina. Vol. I* (Roma: Herder, 1965), 317–343.

<sup>86</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 12739, ff. 584r–585v.

<sup>87</sup> The *Espejo* is the work by the Croatian theologian Bartolomej Georgijevic, *Specchio della peregrinatione delli piu notabili luoghi della Terra Santa di promessa, et delle processioni, et cerimonie, che nella città di Hierusalem si sogliono celebrare*, first published in Rome in 1554. The *Meditaciones* is probably *Delle meditationi sopra i principali misterii di tutta la vita di Christo*, by the Italian jesuit Vincenzo Bruni, published several times since 1588. Finally, the *Epistole et euangeli, che si leggono tutto l'anno alla messa...* was frequently reprinted from the late sixteenth century, along with the new Roman Missal.

<sup>88</sup> In 1622, Don Francisco del Carpio also possessed a portrait of the Milanese bishop (AHPSe, Leg. 12762, ff. 722r–727v).

<sup>89</sup> His possessions were auctioned in 1620. AHPSe, Leg. 12747, ff. 887r–906v.

<sup>90</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 6865, ff. 650r–665r.

<sup>91</sup> Juan Miguel Serrera Contreras, 'Vasco Pereira, un pintor portugués en la Sevilla del último tercio del siglo XVI', in *Archivo Hispalense* (Tomo 40, n. 213, 1987), 197–239.

aristocrat Don Luis Tello de Guzmán, inventoried in 1620.<sup>92</sup> Each of these libraries has a different nature and theme: Santa Cruz, who worked as a lawyer in the city's Real Audiencia, had in his library both a professional section and another section with *curious* books. The painter's library, on the other hand, focused on devotion and leisure (including, however, some illustrated books connected with his profession). Finally, Don Luis Tello's library was smaller but it included more Italian books than the other two. It is the library of a lover of the *belles lettres*, also including some spiritual books. Focusing on Italian books with a religious content, we find that very recent authors (some of whom were Jesuits) had already found their way to the shelves of Sevillian readers. Jerónimo de Santa Cruz possessed some of the works published by the main Catholic authors emerging after the Council of Trent,<sup>93</sup> such as Roberto Bellarmino (1532–1621),<sup>94</sup> Cesare Baronio (1538–1607),<sup>95</sup> and Giacomo Bosio (1544–1627).<sup>96</sup> Vasco Pereira, whose artistic production was permeated by the same Counter-Reformist spirit as evident in his library,<sup>97</sup> collected three books by the Jesuit Luca Pinelli (1542–1607),<sup>98</sup> another by Serafino da Fermo (1496–1540), the recent hagiography of the Blessed Angela of Foligno,<sup>99</sup> a *Mística teología* and a *Medicina del ánima* in Italian.<sup>100</sup> Finally, Don Luis Tello

<sup>92</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 398, ff. 596r–601r.

<sup>93</sup> Alberto Asor Rosa, *La cultura della Controriforma* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1981), 51–54.

<sup>94</sup> *Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini ... Societatis Iesu De controuersiis christianae fidei aduersus huius temporis haereticos tomus tertius ...* (Lyon: Ioannem Pillehotte, 1596).

<sup>95</sup> *Martyrologium romanum ad nouam kalendarii rationem & Ecclesiasticae Historiae veritatem retitutum ... : accesserunt notationes atque Tractatio de Martyrologio Romano* (Venice: Marcum Antonium Zalterium, 1597).

<sup>96</sup> *Dell'istoria della sacra religione et ill.ma militia di san Giouanni gerosolimitano di Iacomo Bosio parte prima [-terza]* (Rome: nella Stamperia Apost.ca Vaticana, 1594).

<sup>97</sup> José Fernández López, *Programas iconográficos de la pintura barroca sevillana del siglo XVII* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002), 52.

<sup>98</sup> Another of Pinelli's works, possibly his *Opere Spirituali* (Venice: Gio. Batt. Ciotti, 1604), can be found among the collection of over 200 books owned by the scholar Juan Pardo in 1606 (AHPSe, leg. 7432, ff. 1173v–1178v).

<sup>99</sup> *Vita e Conversione maravigliosa della B. Angela da Fulgino ... del terzo ordine del P. S. Francesco / Tradotta in volgare da ... F. Gieronimo da Capugnano ... Domenichino ...* (Venice, 1604). The cannon and scholar Don Bartolomé Olalla de Rojas, who died in 1617, also took an interest in the hagiography of an Italian woman, Saint Francesca Romana, written by Spanish author Francisco Peña but published in Italian in 1608: *Relatione summaria della vita, santità, miracoli, et atti della canonizationes di Santa Francesca Romana, o de Pontiani ...* (Roma: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1608).

<sup>100</sup> The *Mística teología*, with all probability, was the work of Gregorio Comanini, *De gli affetti della mistica theologia tratti dalla cantica di Salomone, et sparsi di varie guise di poesie. Ne quali fauellandosi continuamente con Dio, et ispiegandosi i desiderij dvn'anima innamorata della diuina bellezza, s'ecita marauigliosamente lo spirito alla diuotione* (Venice: Gio. Battista Somascho, 1590).

owned two books by the Jesuit Vincenzo Bruni (1532–1594) on the life of Christ,<sup>101</sup> and another by the Dominican Cipriano Uberti,<sup>102</sup> along with two Italian translations of spiritual works.<sup>103</sup>

In Mexico, among the more than 80 books kept by the friar Alonso Cabello in his cell in the Convent of San Francisco and carefully inventoried by the Inquisition in 1578,<sup>104</sup> we find several works by the Dominican Giacomo Javelli, the *Summas* of Silvestre Mazzolini and Bartolomeo Fumo, and a work by Tommaso de Vio.<sup>105</sup> The latter can again be found in the library owned by the scholar Hernando Gutiérrez, a cleric who, at the time of his death in 1608, also owned five works by Thomas Aquinas (including the *Summa* and the *Codlibetos*), later purchased by Gil de la Barrera for eight *pesos*,<sup>106</sup> and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Meanwhile, the Italian books listed in the inventory referring to the layman Simón García Becerril in 1620 also reflect this Counter-Reformation spirit with the inclusion of the *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio, e delle varie maniere di martoriare vsate da'gentili contro christiani, descritte et intagliate in rame*, by Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605), disciple of Saint Phillip Neri.

The overall analysis of these libraries clearly suggests that books were purchased primarily for their professional or devotional value, causing disciplines like law, medicine or religion to feature very prominently. The books that can be grouped under the label of the Humanities (literature, philosophy, poetry or grammar) were generally owned by a very select readership eager to satisfy their personal taste and curiosity. But can we draw a profile of the reader of Italian books on the Humanities in Seville and Mexico City during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Which were the most successful authors and titles?

<sup>101</sup> *Delle meditationi sopra i principali misterii della vita, et passione di Christo N.S. Parte prima [-quarta]* (Venice : appresso i Gioliti, 1598) and *Meditationi sopra i misterii della passione et resurrettione di Christo N.S. ...* (Venice : appresso i Gioliti, 1586).

<sup>102</sup> *Opera della croce distincta, in V libri, del M.R.P.F. Cipriano Vberti: nella quale si tratta come il segno della croce si trova in ogni cosa, dell'uso antico nel signarsi, nell'erigere le croci ...* (Roma: Francesco Zanetti, 1588).

<sup>103</sup> Johan Lanspergio, *Faretra del Divino Amore* (Venice : appresso Giorgio Valentino, 1616) and Antonio de Guevara, *La prima parte del Monte Caluario: doue si trattano tutti i sacratissimi misterij auenuti in questo Monte insino alla morte di Christo* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari, 1559).

<sup>104</sup> AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 88.

<sup>105</sup> *Epistolae Pauli et aliorum Apostolorum, cum Actis / per ... Thomam de Vio Caietanum* (Lyon: Gasparem à Portonarijs, 1558).

<sup>106</sup> Pedro Sánchez Nava, a cleric in Michoacán, also had a work by Aquinas in 1615 (AGI, Contratación, 354, N. 2).

Italian works aimed at the learning of languages were very popular in both Seville and Mexico. One of the favourite authors was Ambrogio Calepino, who in the early sixteenth century published a Latin dictionary, later updated to cover other Classical and vernacular languages. The *Calepino*, as the book was known, was the most popular multilingual dictionary of the age, and according to our findings also the most commonly used in Seville and Mexico. The book was purchased by well placed members of the society of the 1500s. In Seville, it features up to sixteen times between 1563 and 1622. Almost half of these books were in the hands of clergymen, followed by liberal professionals, aristocrats, a merchant, and certain rich citizens.<sup>107</sup> The profile of Calepino's readership in Mexico is quite similar: it can be found in the libraries of the physician Juan de la Fuente (1562) and of the scholar Hernando Gutiérrez (1608), at whose auction the volume was sold for two *pesos*. This book could be found even outside the capital of the viceroyalty: for instance, it was mentioned in the inventory recording the possessions of the cleric Pedro Sánchez Nava, constructed in Trancítaro (Michoacán) in 1615.<sup>108</sup> Along with the *Calepino*, other dictionaries or glossaries specifically for the learning of the Italian language may be found, but they are often harder to identify.<sup>109</sup> Some language manuals can also be found.<sup>110</sup>

Although he never achieved Calepino's popularity, one of the most important Italian specialists in the study of languages was the Humanist Lorenzo Valla,<sup>111</sup> whose works can be found in two Sevillian libraries (belonging to the archdeacon Jerónimo Manrique, in 1580, and the nobleman Hernando Díaz de Medina, in 1622),<sup>112</sup> and in one Mexican library (owned by the friar Alonso Cabello, in 1578).<sup>113</sup> Regarding linguistics, we

<sup>107</sup> It is rarely possible to ascertain which specific edition each volume belongs to and, in consequence, how many languages it includes, but in the library owned by the nobleman Don Pedro de Zúñiga, for example, we find the edition prepared by Paolo Manuzio: *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium...Additamenta Pauli Manuti* (Venice, 1558).

<sup>108</sup> AGI, Contratación, Leg. 354, N.2. The *Calepino* also was one of the most frequently used dictionaries in the Viceroyalty of Peru, Teodoro Hampe, *Bibliotecas Privadas...*, 47–63.

<sup>109</sup> The aforementioned *Vocabulario*, by Cristóbal de las Casas, features in at least three examples between Seville and Mexico: the libraries owned by the archdeacon Don Jerónimo Manrique in 1580 (AHPSe, Leg. 12459, ff. 83r–99v); the Sevillian nobleman Hernando Díaz de Medina in 1622; and Simón García Beceril in Mexico in 1620.

<sup>110</sup> In 1570, the inquisitor Gasco owned a *Fundamento del parlar toscano*, by Rinaldo Corso (AHPSe, Leg. 3429, ff. 824r–840r), and in 1622 the aristocrat Hernando Díaz de Medina possessed the *Commentarii della lingua italiana*, by Girolamo Ruscelli.

<sup>111</sup> Guido M. Cappelli, *El Humanismo italiano. Un capítulo de la cultura europea entre Petrarca y Valla* (Madrid: Alianza, 2007), 252–280.

<sup>112</sup> In the library of the latter we also find the *Elegantiae*, valued at one *real* (34 *maravedies*).

<sup>113</sup> A Lyonesse edition published in 1544.

can also include the work of the calligrapher Giovanni Battista Palatino,<sup>114</sup> one of whose works was owned by Don Alonso Martel, a great aficionado of Italian literature.<sup>115</sup> We must also mention the grammarian Urbano Bolzanio, mentor of Giovanni de Medici, Valeriano Bolzani (found in the library of the doctor Juan Bravo), Giovanni della Casa, whose *Latina monimenta* must have been followed by Don Pedro de Zúñiga in his studies, and Aldo Manuzio, whose *Ortographiae ratio* we find in the possession of the scholar Jerónimo de Santa Cruz in 1609. The work of the Humanist and poet Angelo Poliziano, mentor in the house of Lorenzo the Magnificent, can be found in Seville in the libraries of the scholar Gonzalo de las Casas in 1583,<sup>116</sup> the cleric Alonso Bautista in 1590,<sup>117</sup> and the lawyer Jerónimo de Santa Cruz in 1608. In Mexico we find it in the library belonging to the friar Alonso Cabello in 1578.<sup>118</sup> The profile shown by these books is that of a male reader, cultivated and, in most cases, a member of the clergy, along with liberal professionals and aristocrats.

Regarding poetry, the origins of the *dolce stil nuovo*, Dante's name for the new poetry written in the vernacular, can be found in the northern Italian urban republics in the thirteenth century, as a result of a very specific cultural context.<sup>119</sup> Three centuries later it was still reading material for the elite in both Seville and Mexico City. The extraordinary creative drive of Italian literature from the Late Middle Ages had a strong influence on the most cultivated readers of the age, although not all authors achieved the same degree of success. Dante, for example, seldom features in our sample, probably due to the preference shown by Spanish writers of the Renaissance for the other two members of the Florentine trio; Petrarch and Boccaccio, on whom they based their imitation of the Italian models.<sup>120</sup> In any case, Dante's works can only be found in the inventory referring to the Sevillian nobleman Hernando Díaz de Medina, who owned one volume in Spanish and two in Italian. In Seville and other Spanish cities, Petrarch and Boccaccio were much more popular.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Probably his work *Libro nel qual s'insegna a scrivere ogni sorte di lettera...*

<sup>115</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 6837, ff. 363r–377r.

<sup>116</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 3509, ff. 550r–557v.

<sup>117</sup> AHPSe, leg. 12531, fol. 824r–826r.

<sup>118</sup> The edition is that of *Angeli Politiani Epistolarum lib. XII. miscellaneorum centuria I* (Antwerp: Philippum Nutium, 1567).

<sup>119</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Lenguaje literario y público...* 290–292.

<sup>120</sup> Antonio Prieto, *La poesía española del siglo XVI. Andais tras mis escritos* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984), 60–61. On the influence of the three Florentine authors in Spain see Bernardo Sanvisenti, *Il primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla letteratura Spagnuola* (Milan, 1902).

<sup>121</sup> Philippe Berger, *Libro y lectura en la Valencia del Renacimiento* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1987) vol. I, 384.



Although Francesco Petrarch tried to achieve success with his Latin works it was his Italian poetry that truly revolutionised European literature. His influence was to last for centuries,<sup>122</sup> up to the point that it has been said that, in a continent divided by religious and political conflicts, his *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* was the only 'catechism' that European intellectuals universally agreed upon.<sup>123</sup> Some of his works on philosophy and morals can also be found in the libraries under study.<sup>124</sup> Petrarch can be found in nine Sevillian inventories but not in any of the Mexican ones, although we know that his works were shipped to America,<sup>125</sup> and that he was indeed read in New Spain, even far away from the capital.<sup>126</sup>

The influence of Giovanni Boccaccio's prose was equally relevant.<sup>127</sup> He was probably the earliest member of the Florentine trio to gain widespread popularity across the continent.<sup>128</sup> Boccaccio's work, both in Latin and in Italian, features in one Mexican and seven Sevillian libraries. Among the former, we must highlight *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, present in three different libraries, one of which belonged to a woman,<sup>129</sup> and among the latter *Il Decamerone*, which is also mentioned three times, despite the censorship difficulties that the title had to go through.<sup>130</sup> Two

<sup>122</sup> 'Petrarca's poetry served as the model for European lyricism over a period of several centuries, and it was only the Romantics writing around 1800 who finally broke free of his influence'. Erich Auerbach, *Introduction to Romance Languages...*, 129.

<sup>123</sup> 'L'unico <catechismo> riconosciuto dagli intellettuali europei rimane quello dei *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*', Matteo Lefèvre, *Una poesia per l'impero...* 12; John L. Lievsay, *The Englishman's Italian Books. 1550–1700* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969).

<sup>124</sup> For example, that of the painter Vasco Pereira.

<sup>125</sup> Pedro Rueda, *Negocio e intercambio cultural...* 247–248.

<sup>126</sup> In 1538 we find Petrarch's *Triunfi* among the possessions of the merchant Damián Martínez (AGN, Inquisición, vol. 36, exp. 5). On the other hand, the Inquisition Comissar in Guatemala was warned in 1574 of the arrival of a forbidden edition of the same title (AGN, Inquisición, vol. 77, exp. 19), possibly the same edition seized in Peru in 1573, Pedro M. Guibovich Pérez, *Censura, libros e Inquisición en el Perú colonial, 1570–1754* (EEHA, Sevilla, 2003), 277. On the other hand, Edmundo O'Gorman transcribed a book inventory found in the Mexican city of Acatlan in 1604, among which Petrarch's *De Remediis utrusque Fortune* is listed, Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales...', 677.

<sup>127</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Introduction to Romance Languages...*, 129–131. Rhiannon Daniels, *Boccaccio and the Book. Production and Reading in Italy. 1340–1520* (London: Legenda, 2009), 142.

<sup>128</sup> Vittore Branca, 'Boccaccio protagonista nell'Europa letteraria e artistica fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento', in *La cultura letteraria italiana e l'identità europea* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2001), 51–86.

<sup>129</sup> María de Garnica, who died in 1580, although once more it is not easy to be sure whether the book belonged to her or to her husband (AHPSe, leg. 2365, fol. 763r–785v). Don Alonso Martel's copy was valued at no less than fifteen *reales*. It was also in the hands of the cleric Gonzalo de Plata in 1563 (AHPSe, leg. 3415, fol. 156).

<sup>130</sup> Valdés' index forbid this work in Spanish and Portuguese, while Quiroga's also prohibited the Italian and Latin translations 'nisi fuerint expurgatis et impressis ab anno 1572'

Sevillian libraries also included Giovanni Battista Giralaldi's *Hecatommithi*, an imitation of *Il Decamerone* toned down by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation and thus a better suit for the readership of the age.<sup>131</sup> In Mexico we find *De Claris Mulieribus* and *Laberinto d'amore*, both in the library of Simón García Becerril. He was not the only case in our Mexican sample with a taste for the Florentine poetry of the Quattrocento: in 1608, for instance, the cleric and scholar Hernando Gutiérrez owned a copy of *Fabrica del Mondo en toscano*, which in all probability is the work of Francesco Alunno, *Della fabrica del mondo di m. Francesco Alunno da Ferrara. Libri X Ne quali si contengono le voci di Dante, del Petrarca, del Boccaccio, del Bembo, et d'altri buoni autori*.

Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, where chivalric and courtesan romance are combined to tell the story of one of Charlemagne's knights, was one of the most popular Italian literary works in Spain,<sup>132</sup> as shown by the libraries under analysis: it appears in nine Sevillian and two Mexican inventories, again with a readership mostly confined to clergymen and nobles.<sup>133</sup> In contrast, Matteo Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* was less popular, and is only found in the library brought to Mexico by the doctor Juan de la Fuente. Iacobo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, the basis of European pastoral literature and enormously successful throughout the continent,<sup>134</sup> features in Seville in the library owned by the inquisitor Gasco,<sup>135</sup> and in that of Simón García Becerril in Mexico. The latter had both an Italian and a Spanish version. The Venetian Pietro Bembo is represented by his *Gli*

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BUJANDA, Jesús Martínez de (dir.): *Index de l'Inquisition Espagnole: 1551, 1554, 1559*, Sherbrooke, 1984, n° 540 y 696; BUJANDA, Jesús Martínez de (dir.): *Index de l'Inquisition Espagnole: 1583, 1584*, Sherbrooke, 1993, n° 247 (E), 919 (E), 1834, 1918, 1930 and 1979 (E).

<sup>131</sup> Mireia Aldomá García, 'Los Hecatommithi de Giralaldi Cinzio en España', in Ignacio Arellano Ayuso (coord.), *Studia aurea: actas del III Congreso de la AISO*, vol. 3 (Pamplona: Griso, 1996), 15–22. It can be found in the libraries belonging to the scholar Jerónimo de Santa Cruz (1609) and the aristocrat Don Luis Tello de Guzmán (1620).

<sup>132</sup> Manuel Peña Dáz, *El laberinto de los libros...* 196.

<sup>133</sup> In Seville, the work was in the hands of three clergymen, the Inquisitor Gasco, the *racionero* Gonzalo Estanquero (AHPSe, Leg. 3526, ff. 820v–824v) and Jerónimo de Herrera (AHPSe, Leg. 13663, ff. 1181r–1220v); three noblemen, Don Pedro de Zúñiga, Don Alonso Martel and Don Luis Tello; along with a lawyer, Jerónimo de Santa Cruz, and an unidentified reader (Alonso de Buiza, AHPSe, Leg. 7421, ff. 662r–671v). In Mexico, the book was owned by the *racionero* Antonio de Illana, at whose auction, held in 1601, the book was sold (alongside some chivalric romances) to a canon (AHNM, Notario 374, Vol. 2466, ff. 51v–55r y 64r–69v). In 1620, Simón García Becerril owned the Spanish translation of the work, carried out by Jerónimo de Urrea.

<sup>134</sup> Giulio Ferroni, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 392–395. Towards the end of his life, Sannazaro composed *De partu Virginis*, in verse, found in 1574 in the library of Lázaro Bejarano (AHPSe, leg. 3467, fol. 823v–829r).

<sup>135</sup> Klaus Wagner, 'Lecturas y otras aficiones del inquisidor Andrés Gasco'.

*Asolani*, a platonic work brought to Mexico by the French doctor Juan de la Fuente (1562). In Seville, the work was also owned by the scholar Jerónimo de Santa Cruz (1609), who additionally possessed *Le Prose*, by the same author. The chaplain Pedro Hernández,<sup>136</sup> a lover of Italian culture, had a copy of Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della institution delle donne* and also owned Leon Battista Alberti's *Momus sive de principes*, published in Latin in 1450 and where the pagan gods are used to satyrise the politics and costumes of the age.<sup>137</sup> This may also be found in Esteban de Guevara's library, in Seville (1609),<sup>138</sup> and in that of Simón García Becerril, in Mexico; the latter in the Spanish translation.<sup>139</sup> The prestige of Italian letters and the constant cultural exchange between both peninsulas also facilitated the way into Sevillian libraries for less well-known authors. The *Rimas* by Tullia de Aragona, a courtesan and poet that followed Petrarch's style, were in the library of Don Pedro de Zúñiga. There were more: Gianfrancesco Straparola, imitating Boccaccio, wrote a number of novels narrated by a series of ladies and gentlemen over thirteen nights. These books were known as *Piacevoli notti* (*Honesto entretenimiento de damas y galanes* in their Spanish translation). They feature in three libraries.<sup>140</sup>

Apart from poetry and fiction, readers in Seville and Mexico also showed interest in Italian philosophical and political treatises, as well as in books on Italian history. Starting with philosophy, we must highlight the work of Judah Leon (Judá ben Isaac Abrabanel): born in Lisbon to a Jewish Castilian family, he became a doctor, a philosopher and a poet, developing most of his career in Italy, where he published *I Dialoghi d'amore*, a synthetic work in which the Aristotelian, Platonic and Neo-Platonic elements feature prominently. He was highly influential over several Spanish authors.<sup>141</sup> His work, in Latin or in Spanish, can be found in

<sup>136</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 3496, ff. 295r-301r y Leg. 3497, ff. 478r-483r.

<sup>137</sup> Massimo Marassi, *Metamorfosi della storia. Momus e Alberti* (Milan: Mimesis, 2004).

<sup>138</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 15102, ff. 666.

<sup>139</sup> The Spanish translation of this title, carried out by Luis de Almazán, was published in Alcalá de Henares in 1553 under the title *La moral y muy graciosa historia del Momo*. A. Coroleu, 'El Momo de Leon Battista Alberti: una contribución al estudio de la fortuna de Luciano en España', in *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica: estudios latinos*, n° 7, 1994, 177-183.

<sup>140</sup> The copy sold in the auction of the *racionero* Gonzalo Estanquero, celebrated in 1587, for sixty *maravedies*, was probably of the Italian version. Another two clerics, Pedro Hernández, in 1580, and Alonso Bautista, in 1590, had the Spanish version.

<sup>141</sup> Andrés Soria Olmedo, 'León Hebreo: el amor entre dos mundos', in *Siete estudios sobre la edad de oro* (Granada: 2008), 125-135. We must not forget, since we are referring to the influence of Italian models in America, that the earliest Spanish translator of León Hebreo was Inca Garcilaso, a Peruvian mixed-race son of a conquistador and a member of the indigenous nobility, a paradigmatic example of the fusion (and clash) of civilizations.

the hands of two Sevillian aristocrats (Don Pedro de Zúñiga, 1570, and Hernando Díaz de Medina, in 1622) and a chaplain (Pedro Hernández, 1580). In Mexico, it was owned by the doctor Juan de la Fuente (1562), who possessed a French version. Another highly influential work is Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, one of the most popular books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It may be found in one Mexican and three Sevillian libraries, its possession evenly divided between clergymen and noblemen.<sup>142</sup> In fact, his success was such that the book was not only imported into Mexico, but also printed in the capital of New Spain in 1576, apparently within the framework of an educational programme promoted by the Jesuits.<sup>143</sup> The case of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* is very different. Despite its widespread dissemination after its publication,<sup>144</sup> it can only be found in the library belonging to Pedro de Ubilla, from Viscay, in 1564.<sup>145</sup> This does not mean, of course, that the readership, at least in Seville, was not interested in titles reflecting on the nobility and politics, as shown by the presence of titles such as Girolamo Muzio's (1496–1576) *Il Gentiluomo*,<sup>146</sup> Alessandro Piccolomini's *De la Institutione de tutta la vita del'uomo nato nobile*,<sup>147</sup> Francesco Patrizi's *Il Sacro regno del Gran Patritio*, and Giovanni Botero's *Della Ragione di stato*.<sup>148</sup> Nothing similar can be found in the Mexican libraries.

In connection with the awakening of the *belles lettres*, brought in by the Italian Renaissance, historical texts of a very different nature from Medieval examples also gained in popularity.<sup>149</sup> If we account for the fact that this renovation occurred within the same circles that saw to the Italian literary revolution it is not strange that the readership of Italian literature and history coincide considerably, although in this regard the impact in Mexico seems not to have been as significant as it was in Seville.

<sup>142</sup> In Seville, it was owned by the doctor Jerónimo de Herrera and the noblemen Don Alonso Martel and Herando Díaz de Medina, in this case in vernacular. In Mexico, the *Emblemas* can be found in the library of the scholar Hernando Gutiérrez.

<sup>143</sup> Trinidad Barrera, *Asedios a la literatura colonial* (Mexico: UNAM, 2008), 271.

<sup>144</sup> Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2001).

<sup>145</sup> AHPSe, leg. 3421, s.f.

<sup>146</sup> In the library of Jerónimo de Santa Cruz (1609).

<sup>147</sup> In this case in the libraries owned by don Pedro de Zúñiga (1570) and the archdeacon Jerónimo Manrique (1580).

<sup>148</sup> The latter two works are found in the library of the nobleman Hernando Díaz de Medina (1622), whereas Pedro de Zúñiga owned Patrizi's work, along with *De institutione republicae*, by the same author.

<sup>149</sup> E.B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 3–31.

Undoubtedly, the close links between Spanish and Italian politics, economics and culture made Italian historiography especially attractive for Spanish readers. The preferred author was Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), whose enormous and swift Spanish success was based on his combination of contemporary history, cosmopolitanism, and good narrative style.<sup>150</sup> According to the available evidence he was read in Latin, Italian and Spanish, and Sevillian readers seem to have been particularly partial to him, because it is not unusual to find more than one of his works in the same library. In total, his works have been identified in twelve inventories, mainly referring to clergymen, nobles and liberal professionals. In contrast, in Mexico Giovio only features once and here with a non-historical book, *De Piscibus*, a work on ichthyology.<sup>151</sup>

The history of the Kingdom of Naples, at the time part of the Spanish crown, seems to have aroused particular interest: the canon Alonso Mudarra had a “*suma de la conquista del reyno de Nápoles*”,<sup>152</sup> and don Alonso Martel “*una coronica del reyno de Nápoles*”. In fact, the only title on Italian history found in Mexico was a *Historia de Nápoles*, ten parchment-bound volumes of which were in the hands of the merchant Antón Fuente in 1602.<sup>153</sup> In the case of Seville, the work of Italian historians or works on Italian history can be found in more than a dozen libraries, mostly owned by clergymen, followed by nobles and liberal professionals.<sup>154</sup> Their taste is miscellaneous, although recent history seems to have been particularly regarded. The royal chaplain Pedro Hernández, for instance, in addition to several of Giovio's works, possessed in 1580 other works by Francesco Sansovino (*Delle cose notabile que sono in Venetia*, *L'istoria di casa Orsina* and *Dell'origine et imperio dei Turchi*), along with a history of the Duchy of Ferrara. The list of Italian historians with a Sevillian readership is very long (Bartolomeo Sacchi, Bernardino Corrio, Francesco Guicciardini, Leandro Alberti...) and their appeal seemed to persist throughout the period under study.

<sup>150</sup> Baltasar Cuart Monet, “Traducciones, reacciones y correcciones. La peripecia de Paolo Giovio en España”, in Francisco Chacón et al. (ed.), *Spagna e Italia in Età Moderna: Storiografie a confronto* (Cagliari: Viella, 2009), 223–251; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University Press, 1981), 366–376.

<sup>151</sup> This work features in the library of the doctor Juan de la Fuente in 1562.

<sup>152</sup> AHPSe, Leg. 12549, ff. 250v–260v.

<sup>153</sup> AHNM, Notario 374, vol. 2467, ff. 465r–486r. Despite the small presence of Italian historiography in Mexican libraries we know that several titles were shipped there in the first half of the 17th century, the Jesuit Giovanni Botero being the most popular author among them. Pedro Rueda, *Negocio e intercambio cultural...* 280–283.

<sup>154</sup> The only artisan in whose inventory we have found any book connected with Italian history is the painter Vasco Pereira, who possessed two pictorial books with Roman ruins, possibly as an inspiration for his work.

Finally, the current investigation has shown that Italian literature was not consumed by women in the Hispanic world, not even when the works were dedicated to or directed at women.<sup>155</sup> It is however true that knowing the use to which the books listed in an inventory were put is difficult,<sup>156</sup> and also that books owned by men could also be read by (or to) women. However, considering the small number of Italian works found in female inventories, not only in Seville and Mexico but also in other cities and in other periods,<sup>157</sup> notarial documents point to the conclusion that Italian books were mostly consumed by a male readership.

In summary, the libraries under study have shown the considerable impact of Italian culture in Seville and Mexico, demonstrating that the literary culture of the New World was similar to that of the metropolis, with some interesting qualifications. The profile of the readership speaks of socially well placed, cultivated readers (it is not unusual to find scholars or doctors among them). Almost half of those in possession of Italian books were clerics, although the largest collections are found outside this group. The rest are fundamentally divided between liberal professionals, noblemen and a few merchants. Additionally, most possessed libraries of a considerable size for the age, on many occasions with over fifty volumes. Although the libraries under discussion do not permit an exhaustive evaluation of the weight of Italian legal works in Mexico, it seems that Italian authors bought for their professional value (for example, texts on medicine or theology) were common in both cities. Regarding non-professional books, the Sevillian and Mexican readership are also similar, although in Seville the aristocracy features more prominently. Italian history or works written by Italian historians, however, seldomly appears in Mexican libraries, in contrast with their considerable success in Seville. This may be due to geographical proximity and to the large size of the traditional Italian community in Seville.

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<sup>155</sup> This is the case with several of Boccaccio's works, such as the *Decameron*, whose author 'claims in the poem that it is written for amorous women who are unable to find respite from their love in the outdoor pursuits enjoyed by me', Rhiannon Daniels, Boccaccio and the Book. Production and Reading in Italy. 1340–1520 (*MHRA and Maney Publishing, London, 2009*), 5. On the intended female readership of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, see Giulio Ferroni, 'Lecteur ou lectrice: L'Arioste et les images du public', in *L'Ecrivain face à son public en France et en Italie à la Renaissance* (Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris, 1989), 321–335.

<sup>156</sup> Manuel José Pedraza Gracia, *Lectores y lecturas en Zaragoza (1501–1520)*, Saragossa: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 1998, 11.

<sup>157</sup> The members of the Florentine trio (Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio) seldom appear in women's libraries of the Late Middle Ages. Isabel Beceiro, *Libros, lectores y bibliotecas en la España medieval* (Murcia: Medievalia, 2006), 581–582.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# ARISTOCRATIC BOOK CONSUMPTION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: AUSTRIAN ARISTOCRATIC BOOK COLLECTORS AND THE ROLE OF NOBLE NETWORKS IN THE CIRCULATION OF BOOKS FROM SPAIN TO AUSTRIA

Bianca Lindorfer

### *Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the number of private noble libraries increased everywhere in Europe. In his early eighteenth-century chronicle about the imperial court, the German writer Johann Basilius Küchelbecker commented on the growing number of public and private libraries in Vienna: “Since nowadays education (*studia*) has increased in significance, high ranking and noble persons realise that the sword alone no longer is sufficient in order to make ones fortune in the world and to serve ones Lord at court and in war. They therefore attach more importance to the *belles lettres* and *studia*, than they had done in previous epochs. And since they have recognised that Mars and Pallas match very well, they do not consider it a disgrace to assemble libraries.”<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the nobility had, for the most part, still some reservations towards the world of books and learning, but

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Natalia Maillard Álvarez for organizing the workshop *Catholic Communities and Books during the Early Modern Period: Circulation, Uses, Business, Consumption* (Florence, February 2012), where I could present this paper, and especially for her efforts to publish the outcomes of this workshop. I owe particular gratitude to my colleague Stefan Donecker for reading this contribution and as always making helpful comments and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> “Und weil zu diesen Zeiten, da die studia auf den höchsten Grad gestiegen, große Herren und vornehme Standes=Personen sehen, daß es heut zu Tage nicht allein mit dem Degen ausgerichtet ist, wenn einer sein Glück in der Welt machen, und großen Herren so wohl bey Hofe als im Kriege dienen will, so appliciren sich dieselben anietzo mehr auf die belles lettres und studia, als vordiesen. Und weil Dieselben wohl erkennenet, daß Mars und Pallas sich gar wohl zusammen schicken, so haben dieselben sich vor keine Schande gehalten, zu Dero Passe-terms eine Bibliothek anzulegen”. Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneuesten Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hofe, nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der kayserlichen Residenz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Örter. Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben* (Hannover, 1730), 688.

this attitude changed significantly over the course of the century. As Küchelbecker observed, the growing interest in books was related to crucial changes in noble values and the new emerging ideal of the well-educated nobleman. A new type of noble had entered the stage: the cultured courtier and well-read aristocratic connoisseur. It was the golden age of the aristocratic collector when the foundation of the most outstanding private noble book collections was laid.

Certainly, already in the fifteenth century some noble families such as the Medici in Florence or the Dukes of Este had assembled remarkable libraries, yet in the following centuries collecting books reached a new dimension. The spread of printing but also the development of new communication systems such as the postal system and the professionalization of trade and commercial networks facilitated access to the world of books. By the end of the sixteenth century private noble libraries of some hundred volumes were not uncommon and the size of these libraries increased even more in the following century.<sup>3</sup>

This article focuses on the book collections of seventeenth-century Austrian aristocrats and it particularly draws attention to Spanish literature in these libraries. The works by Spanish writers like Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderón, to mention only some of the most prominent literary figures of this epoch, were bestsellers not only in Spain but all over Europe. Travellers, scholars, poets, nobles, diplomats, translators and publishing houses contributed to the diffusion of Spanish literature beyond the sphere of the Spanish monarchy.<sup>4</sup> This article studies the patterns of distribution of foreign literature in aristocratic circles and more precisely, to what extent 'transnational' networks contributed to its spread. At a time when a professional book trade in Vienna just had begun to develop, readers and book collectors still relied on agents and personal contacts abroad to satisfy their bibliophile interests.<sup>5</sup> The book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig certainly played a central role in the spread of books. The aristocracy, however, didn't belong to the regular customers of these fairs but rather used its own networks to enrich its libraries with all types of

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<sup>3</sup> Jill Bepler, "Early Modern German Libraries and Collections," in *Early Modern German Literature 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2007), 697–735.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance Alberto Martino, "Von den Wegen und Umwegen der Verbreitung spanischer Literatur im Deutschen Sprachraum (1550–1750)," in *Studien zur Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts: Gedenkschrift für Gerhard Spellerberg (1937–1996)*, ed. Hans Feger (Amsterdam: Atlanta, 1997), 285–344.

<sup>5</sup> Norbert Bachleitner, et al., *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 98.



literature, from prose and poetry to hagiographical literature and political treatises. In this contribution I will show how the aristocracy operated in establishing their impressive libraries, and more importantly, why early modern aristocrats became so interested in augmenting their libraries with foreign literature. Considering the size of these libraries it becomes evident that these books did not only serve educational purposes. On the contrary, books became increasingly seen as being collectible objects and the establishment of private libraries became a matter of prestige. Like collections of paintings and chambers of curiosities, the ownership of libraries was part of the programme of early modern aristocratic self-representation, in which the display of cultural superiority coupled with humanistic education and worldly appearance played a central role.

### *Early Modern Aristocratic Libraries*

The baroque aristocratic library was of an encyclopaedic nature, covering all different genres of literature. Some of the most amazing book collectors of this epoch possessed several thousand books. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the library of the Bohemian noble family Rosenberg, for instance, counted 11,000 volumes.<sup>6</sup> Even more prominent is the example of the famous library in Wolfenbüttel, which half a century later, at the death of the bibliophile Duke August the Younger of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1666, included 135,000 printed works and nearly 3000 volumes of manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> Duke August was driven by an intellectual curiosity and collected books from his early youth on. Over the decades he had established an efficiently working network of correspondents and agents, both in the Empire and abroad, that provided him with newly published works as well as information about rare prints and manuscripts, and even whole libraries which were put on sale.<sup>8</sup> After his death, the library became open to the public and to this day it serves as one of the most outstanding collections of early modern prints and attracts researchers from all over the world.

<sup>6</sup> Ivan Hlaváček, "Zur Stratifikation und zur inhaltlichen Zusammensetzung böhmisch-mährische Bibliotheken des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Bibliotheken und Bücher im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, ed. Werner Arnold (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 9–30, here 17.

<sup>7</sup> Helwig Schmidt-Glintze, et al., *A Treasure House of Books. The Library of Duke August of Brunswick* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Helmar Härtel, "Duke August and his Book Agents," in *A Treasure House of Books*, 105–118.

Aristocratic collectors of this epoch were driven by the idea to establish universal libraries. Their book holdings usually included theological and hagiographical literature, books on the history of various territories and kingdoms as well as on outstanding rulers and individuals, travel reports and books on geography. The early modern period witnessed an increasing interest in natural studies and many noble libraries contained books about nature, natural objects, exotic plants, animals, and curiosities.<sup>9</sup> Very popular in this epoch were descriptions of the new world and its flora and fauna, but also books of a more practical nature on subjects such as the art of hunting, agriculture, the military arts, and books about medicine. Descriptions of the medical values of new world plants and commodities, for example chocolate, rapidly spread all over Europe and contributed to the rise of these goods as consumables and much praised medical products.<sup>10</sup> For instance, the library of the Austrian noble family Harrach included Cristóbal Acosta's *Tratado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales* (1578), Monardes' *Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales y sirven en medicina* (1577), and a number of further books of this kind.<sup>11</sup>

Another genre of books represented in early modern noble libraries are books on languages, grammars, and dictionaries, books on rhetoric and the art of conversation, and on noble behaviour in general. The sixteenth century saw a blossoming of courtesy books, which were widely read among the European elite. The best known example of this type of literature is Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, which created the prototype of the sophisticated, worldly, and elegant nobleman. Shortly after its publication in 1528 the book could be read in Spanish, French, and German and its ideas were echoed in various mirrors of princes.<sup>12</sup> Genealogies and chronicles were added to noble libraries to attest the long, respectable history of the family, justifying its claim to power and superior social standing. Last but not least noble libraries included classical Greek and Roman literature as well as contemporary poetry and novels.

<sup>9</sup> Paula Findlen, "Courting Nature," in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. Nicholas Jardine et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 57–74.

<sup>10</sup> On the spread of chocolate see Bianca M. Lindorfer, "Discovering taste: Spain, Austria, and the spread of chocolate consumption among the Austrian aristocracy, 1650–1700," *Food & History* 7.1 (2009): 35–52.

<sup>11</sup> Index Titulorum Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Harrachianae, fol. 83v. Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv Vienna, Familienarchiv Harrach (AVA Vienna, FA Harrach), Hs 206.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Burke, "The Courtier Abroad: Or, the Use of Italy?," in *Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier. The Singleton Translation* ed. Daniel Javitch (New York, London: Norton, 2002), 388–400, here 391.

Certainly, the confessional and social background but also the personal preferences and interests of individual collectors shaped the character of a library. The Harrach family library may serve here as an example. The Harrachs belonged to the Austrian court aristocracy, and members of this family held prominent positions at the imperial court during the seventeenth century. The family had close contacts to the Spanish monarchy and its elite, and we can find Spanish cultural influences in several aspects of their lives, especially regarding their consumption patterns. One of their most influential representatives in the seventeenth century was Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. After his cavalier's tour, which had taken him to Italy, the Netherlands and France, he entered the imperial service and in the following decades became one of the closest confidants of the Emperor. In 1658 he travelled to Frankfurt to attend the coronation of Emperor Leopold followed by diplomatic missions to Poland, France, and Spain. Educated according to the humanistic ideal of the time, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach was familiar with the cultural and intellectual standards of his epoch. From his personal records we know that he was a well-read man who enjoyed spending his evenings reading.<sup>13</sup> The Harrach family library included a remarkable collection of Spanish *comedias*, which was assembled most likely by Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach during his time as imperial ambassador to Spain. In addition, an inventory of the library dating from the early eighteenth century lists a number of books on architecture as well as on the art of painting.<sup>14</sup> It is most likely that the acquisition of these books date back to the second half of the seventeenth century when Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, known as an enthusiastic art collector and lover of the fine arts, laid the foundation of the family's collection of paintings and commissioned the construction of a new city palace in the centre of Vienna. Unfortunately, we know little about his literary preferences as he only occasionally referred to the nature of his readings or his acquisitions.

For studying noble libraries, the library catalogues and probate inventories are a valuable source, however, only in very few cases they give insight as to when a book was added to the library and by whom. Usually only the title and author, sometimes also the date and place of publication of the books are listed in these inventories. Noble libraries were usually handed down from one generation to the next and each left its stamp on

<sup>13</sup> A valuable source in this respect is his diary, written between 1673 and 1677. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, for instance fols. 302r., 307v., 308rv., and 314v.

<sup>14</sup> *Index Titulorum Catalogus*.

the character of the library. Family libraries “became dynastic affairs” in which the individual collector often remains unrecognisable, as Jill Bepler emphasised.<sup>15</sup> Yet by studying these inventories, it becomes evident that Spanish literature was far from uncommon in Austrian (and also Bohemian) noble libraries. On the contrary, we observe a predominance of Romance literature, whereas books in German clearly represent a minority, especially regarding poetry, prose, and novels. The inventory of the Harrach library lists close to 5,120 titles, whereof 2,654 refer to books in French, followed by Spanish books (‘Hispanicas’) with 891 titles, books in Latin with 724, and Italian literature with 414 titles. Books in German take the last place with merely 398 titles. The remaining volumes include maps and engravings.<sup>16</sup>

The ‘Hispanicas’ in the Harrach library were organised in different categories. In the inventory, 165 titles are grouped under the rubric theological works,<sup>17</sup> seven under the rubric medicine,<sup>18</sup> and the remaining 710 titles involve diverse comedies, poetry and prose, as well as books about moral and political ideas, such as Saavedra’s *Idea de un príncipe político christiano*,<sup>19</sup> and his other work entitled *Republica literaria*.<sup>20</sup> This category also includes books about the history of Spanish language—such as the famous work by Bernardo José de Aldrete *Del origen de la lengua castellana, o romance oy se usa en España*—,<sup>21</sup> dictionaries, and literature on different topics of Spanish, Portuguese and Spanish-American history. The library also contained classical authors such as Seneca, Cicero, Tacitus, Homer, both in Italian and in Spanish translations, but also contemporary literature, novels, poetry, and drama; several editions of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* in Spanish and also in French and Italian translations, the writings by Gongora, and as indicated above, a fine collection of works by Lope de Vega and Calderón are mentioned in the library catalogue. Yet, the Harrachs were no exception in this respect. Above all the works by Lope de Vega were well known among the Austrian and Bohemian nobility, and we find remarkable collections of his comedias in a number of other noble libraries.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Bepler, “Early Modern German Libraries,” 700.

<sup>16</sup> Index Titulorum Catalogus.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., fols. 93r-96v.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., fol. 83r.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., fol. 51r.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., fol. 47v.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., fol. 54r.

<sup>22</sup> See Jaroslava Kašparová, “La literatura española de los siglos XVI y XVII conservada en los fondos de los países Checos y el lector checo contemporáneo,” in *La literatura española*

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Spanish literature was well received outside the Spanish monarchy. The impact of Spanish writings on the development of German baroque literature has been intensively studied by literary scholars.<sup>23</sup> In the seventeenth century, the Spanish book market was much more advanced than the German market, especially regarding the use of the vernacular as a literary and scholarly language. Between 1550 and 1700 almost ninety percent of the literary production in Spain was in Castilian, and only ten percent of the newly published books were in Latin. In Germany, in contrast, only a small portion of the books published in the seventeenth century, especially in the first half of the century, was in German. Latin was still the predominating language in literature and scholarly circles.<sup>24</sup>

In Spain, baroque literature with its most influential representatives Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Gongora flourished, whereas in Germany the so-called '*Schöne Literatur*' was hardly elaborated. "Unlike in Spain or in France, no 'classic' works of German literature were produced during the seventeenth century."<sup>25</sup> The German literature of the baroque period was undoubtedly very productive, but German writers of these epoch such as Schotelius, Siegmund von Bircken, even Andreas Gryphius and Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein, who wrote tragedies in German language, did by no means receive the kind of fame their Spanish or French contemporaries did. Probably one of the best known literary figures of this epoch is Grimmelshausen, the author of the *Simplicissimus*. Yet Grimmelshausen as many other writers was heavily influenced by Spanish examples.

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de los siglos XVI-XVIII en las bibliotecas de Chequia, Moravia y Eslovaquia. Conferencia Internacional, Český Krumlov 2002, ed. Helena Zbudilová (České Budějovice: Jihočeská Univerzita, 2002), 27–69, and Helena Zbudilová, "Las obras de Lope de Vega en la biblioteca del castillo de Český Krumlov," in *Ibid.*, 155–175.

<sup>23</sup> Among the extensive literature see Frank Baasner, *Spanische Literatur. Literatur Europas. Wido Hempelzum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996); Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Spain in German Literature of the Seventeenth Century," in *German Baroque Literature. The European Perspective*, ed. Gerhard Hoffmeister (New York: Ungar, 1983), 109–123; Alberto Martino, *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literatur in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990); Dietrich Briesemeister, "La recepción de la literatura española en Alemania en el siglo XVII," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 33 (1984): 285–310.

<sup>24</sup> Alberto Martino "Die erste deutsche Übersetzung der Garduña de Sevilla. Ein spanischer Beitrag zur Produktion von fiktionaler, 'Konsumliteratur' in den 30er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Buch-Kulturen. Festschrift für Reinhard Wittmann*, ed. Monika Estermann et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 93–187, here 95.

<sup>25</sup> Klaus Garber, "The Origins of German National Literature at the Beginning of the Thirty Years' War," in *1648 War and Peace in Europe. Vol. II: Art and Culture*, ed. Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (München: Bruckmann, 1998), 311–318, here 312.

The writings by Spanish authors were translated into Latin and later into various European vernaculars, and their ideas were disseminated all over Europe and shaped the literary trends of the age.<sup>26</sup> The Jesuits played a central role in this process. From the moment when the first Jesuits settled in Central Europe, they were crucially involved in the education of the local elite. They had established a wide network of Jesuit colleges and in these centres Spanish ideas and writings were interpreted and used for educational purposes.<sup>27</sup>

Translators such as the Bavarian court librarian Aegidius Albertinus or the Austrian nobleman Hans Ludwig Kuefstein played an important role as intermediaries of Spanish literature as well. Albertinus, a writer of Dutch origin who was educated by the Jesuits, lived several years in Spain before he entered the service at the court in Munich. Being knowledgeable in Spanish literature he devoted himself to the translation of the writings by Antonio de Guevara, which served him as models for his own literary activities.<sup>28</sup> Most significant, however, was his translation of Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, which was published in 1615 as *Der Landstörtzer Gusman de Alfarache oder Picaro genannt*. The book crucially influenced later poets like Grimmelshausen and had a strong impact on the development of the German picaresque novel.<sup>29</sup> The Austrian nobleman Hans Ludwig Kuefstein too distinguished himself as translator of Romance literature. In 1619 his translation of Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* was published, and five years later he published the book *Carcel de Amor oder Gefängnis der Liebe*, which is a translation of the allegorical love novel by Diego de San Pedro (ca. 1437–ca. 1498).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Dietrich Briesemeister, "La difusión europea de la literatura española en el siglo XVII a través de traducciones neolatinas," *Iberoromania* N. F. 7 (1978): 3–17.

<sup>27</sup> Jean-Marie Valentin, *Les jésuites et le théâtre (1554–1680). Contribution à l'histoire culturelle du monde catholique dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique* (Paris: Desjonquères, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Herbert Walz, *Der Moralist im Dienste des Hofes: Eine vergleichende Studie zu der Lehrdichtung von Antonio de Guevara und Aegidius Albertinus* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1984).

<sup>29</sup> Hans Gerd Rötzer, "Spuren der spanischen *Novela Picaresca* in der deutschen Romanliteratur des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Siglo de Oro—Decadencia. Spaniens Kultur und Politik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts / La cultura y la política de España en la promedidad del siglo XVII*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt et al. (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 33–39, here 35.

<sup>30</sup> See Harald Tersch, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (1400–1650). Eine Darstellung in Einzelbeiträgen* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 672 and Gerhard Hofmeister, "Diego de San Pedro und Hans Ludwig von Kufstein. Über eine frühbarocke Bearbeitung der spanischen Liebesgeschichte *Cárcel de amor*," *Arcadia* 6 (1971): 139–150.

Besides individual collectors, writers, and translators, publishing houses and book fairs contributed to the diffusion of foreign literature. The printing centres in Venice, Ferrara, Rome, Naples, and Milan, as well as in the Netherlands became important hubs for the book trade. Books by Spanish authors often were first published outside of Spain. Diego Saavedra Fajardo's famous *Idea de un principe político christiano* was published in Munich in 1640, and his other work *Corona góthica, castellana y austriaca* was published in Münster in 1646. Others were re-printed in different European countries or translated into other vernaculars shortly after they had been published in Spain.

Many Austrian nobles used the geographical proximity to the prospering printing centres in Northern Italy to acquire books by Spanish authors, either in the original language or in an Italian translation.<sup>31</sup> The Eggenberg library in Krumau (Český Krumlov) for instance included a large number of Italian translations of Spanish chivalric and picaresque novels such as *Il Cavallier Flortir* (Venice 1573), *Palmerín de Oliva* (Venice 1575), *Trabajos de Persil y Sigismonda* (Venice 1626), *Lazarillo de Tormes* also published in Venice between 1622 and 1626, and many others.<sup>32</sup> The library was founded by Hans Ulrich Eggenberg, a Styrian nobleman who made a remarkable career at the imperial court and in 1622 received the rich dominion Krumau in Bohemia. Born in Graz, he started his career at the court of Archduke Ferdinand, the later Emperor Ferdinand II. Hans Ulrich acquired many of the aforementioned Italian translations in nearby Venice.

The book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig were (and still are) important centres for the book trade. In fact, "Frankfurt became a major trading centre, which due to its location on the Rhine and Main attracted both writers and publishers from the Empire but also from the Netherlands, France, and Italy".<sup>33</sup> A whole industry, including collectors, agents, book sellers, and publishers, was involved in the circulation of books and information about new publications. Again, Hans Ulrich Eggenberg's book purchases can serve as an example. In 1628 he had commissioned Spanish and Italian books at the fair in Frankfurt. The correspondence between Count Otto

<sup>31</sup> Martino, "Von den Wegen und Umwegen," 286–287.

<sup>32</sup> Jaroslava Kašparová, "Die Hispanica in der eggenbergischen Büchersammlung der Schlossbibliothek in von Český Krumlov," in *Sammeln, Lesen, Übersetzen als höfische Praxis der Frühen Neuzeit. Die böhmische Bibliothek der Fürsten von Eggenberg im Kontext der Fürsten- und Fürstinnenbibliotheken*, ed. Jill Bepler et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 126–129.

<sup>33</sup> Stephan Füßel, "Early Modern German Printing," in *Early Modern German Literature 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2007), 217–246, here 240.

zur Lippe-Barke and his agent in Vienna, Johann Sternberg, in the following year included an inventory of these books and information about their delivery to Vienna. The books were finally sent to Vienna through a third agent, via Nuremberg.<sup>34</sup> However, in general Spanish books played a secondary role at these fairs. Hans Ulrich Eggenberg too acquired most of the Spanish books during his travels abroad. According to Alberto Martino “the regular customers at the fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig had been scholars, who had little interest in Romance literature, especially as regards novels and poetry. Usually their book consumption was related to their profession”.<sup>35</sup> Thus, the catalogues of these fairs do not necessarily reflect the interests of German readers. Aristocratic book consumption and reading patterns were completely different to those of university trained commoners. They did not limit their acquisitions to a specific topic but, as we have seen, collected books from a wide range of fields and genres. In addition, the reading of Spanish literature (and Romance literature in general) was rather popular.

The preference of Austrian Habsburg aristocrats for Spanish and Italian literature was rooted in the close dynastic links to Spain and Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With the Spanish and Italian Empresses, a number of courtiers, artists, musicians, writers, and composers came to Vienna and shaped the cultural atmosphere at the Viennese court. Italian and Spanish were the predominating languages at the imperial court, and also the literary production, theatre, and music were heavily influenced by Spain and Italy. Especially under the reign of Leopold I the cultural exchange between Vienna and Madrid flourished. Leopold shared a passion for music and theatre with his spouse Margarita Teresa of Spain, and he frequently instructed his ambassadors in Spain to send copies of the latest theatre performances and music compositions to Vienna, not least because his wife had such a longing to hear Spanish music.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Kašparová, “Die Hispanica in der eggenbergischen Büchersammlung,” 126.

<sup>35</sup> Martino, “Von den Wegen und Umwegen,” 293 and 297–298.

<sup>36</sup> On January 6, 1667 Leopold I wrote to Count Pötting: “*Weilen mein gemahl allweil verlangte, spanische musik zu hören, wollet also schauen, dass ihr mir schickt tonos humanos auf ein, zwei oder meistens drei stimmen, und wär mir lieber, wann man die ganze musik haben könnte und eine komedi, so vor etlichen Jahren gehalten worden, und heißt Zelos aun del ayre matan. [...]*” The correspondence between Leopold I and Count Pötting was edited by Alfred Francis Pribram and Moritz Landwehr von Pragenau, *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I. an den Graf F. E. Pötting: 1662–1673*, 2 vols. (Vienna 1903 and 1904), here vol. 1, 278. For the reception of Calderón’s plays in Vienna see Alfred Noe, “Die Rezeption spanischer Dramen am Wiener Kaiserhof des 17. Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Bilanz,” *Daphnis* 30/1–2 (2001): 159–219.



*Aristocratic Collectors and their Role in the Circulation of Books*  
*... Family Networks*

In the wake of the dynastic marriages of the Habsburg rulers, marriage alliance between the Austrian nobility and Spanish as well as Italian families increased. With these marriages Spanish literature was imported to Austria and Bohemia. The Spanish noble lady María Manrique de Lara, for example, brought her private library along to Prague, when she married the Bohemian aristocrat Wratislav Pernstein in 1555. Her literary preferences reflect the intimate relation María Manrique de Lara maintained with her native country and its culture during her married life in Bohemia. Her readings included Spanish contemporary literature and Spanish translations of classical literature such as Seneca and Cicero, as well as the works by Erasmus of Rotterdam and a Spanish version of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*. At the beginning of the seventeenth century she bestowed parts of her library to her daughter Polxena Lobkowitz. The remaining part she donated to the Jesuit college San Clemente de los Jesuitas in Prague. Her books formed the core of the 'Hispanicas' in the Lobkowitz library, which included over 600 volumes in Spanish and Portuguese, among them many precious treatises from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Due to a very specific binding of these books, which was common in Spain in the sixteenth century, researchers could identify them as the ones María Manrique de Lara had brought to Bohemia.<sup>37</sup>

Family members who lived in Spain frequently supplied their relatives in Austria with foreign literature. A prominent example is the Dietrichstein family. The library with its rich holdings on Spanish literature reflects the close relations the family cultivated to the Hispanic world. Its foundation was laid by Adam Dietrichstein in the sixteenth century. In 1553, he had married Margarita Cardona, who, like María Manrique de Lara, had come to Vienna in the entourage of Empress Maria. When Adam Dietrichstein was appointed imperial ambassador to Spain, the couple moved to Madrid, where they spent several years. The books Adam Dietrichstein acquired during this time formed the core of the family library in Nikolsburg (Mikulov).<sup>38</sup> The sons Franz and Maximilian were born and raised in Spain, and the education they received in Spain crucially influenced their position towards the religious conflicts in the

<sup>37</sup> Jaroslava Kašparová, "En torno a la biblioteca de María Manrique de Lara y Mendoza. Estudio sobre los impresos españoles," *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 29 (1995): 137–148.

<sup>38</sup> Jaroslava Kašparová, "Acerca de dos impresos españoles procedentes de la Biblioteca de Dietrichstein," *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 23 (1989): 177–182.

Austrian territories. Franz Dietrichstein later became Cardinal and Bishop of Olmütz (Olomouc) and played an influential role in the Counter-Reformation in Moravia. In order to foster the relations to the Spanish monarchy, the daughters of Adam Dietrichstein all married into Spanish high aristocratic families.<sup>39</sup>

In the family archive in Brünn (Brno), a vast correspondence between Cardinal Franz Dietrichstein and his niece Beatrice de Mendoza dating from the year 1618 survived. In several letters Beatrice wrote that she would send him books as well as other goods to Bohemia.<sup>40</sup> For instance in May 1618, she promised to send him some books by Fray Luis de Granada and one by the female writer Mother Juana de la Cruz, which she considered valuable readings for the Cardinal. The books should be both pleasurable and useful to read. In case the Cardinal would be too busy to read them, he should give them to other relatives in the meantime.<sup>41</sup>

We can assume that Beatrice de Mendoza was not an exception in this respect, but that it was a common practice that family members abroad supplied their relatives with foreign goods, including literature. Books circulated among family members, both at home and abroad. In his study on the reception of the *Book of the Courtier*, Peter Burke emphasised the importance of networks of readers, friends and acquaintances for the dissemination of literature.<sup>42</sup> Aristocratic families were linked through a closely woven fabric of professional and kinship relations which provided excellent channels for the circulation of books. For instance, the library of

<sup>39</sup> On Adam Dietrichstein see Friedrich Edelmayer, "Ehre, Geld, Karriere. Adam von Dietrichstein im Dienst Kaiser Maximilians II," in *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1992), 109–142.

<sup>40</sup> See for instance her letter from June 20 1618 in which she wrote: "[...] *Con este padre embio quatro libors, el compendio no se puede embiar que es muy grande y el padre no se quiere cargar [...]*." Beatrice de Mendoza to Johann Gottfried Reitenspies (secretary of Cardinal Dietrichstein), Madrid 1618 June 20. Moravský Zemský Archiv, Brno (MZA Brno), Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů G140, Carton 436, Fasz. Mendosová Beatrice, fol. 12v.

<sup>41</sup> "[...] *teme que de embiar algunas libros que me pareze muy honrado entreteniendo y ganado el Cardenal con tanto provecho y asy procurare lo sean los libros que todos los de Frey Luys de Granada entiendo estan reducidos asy ytaliano, franzes y aleman. Con todos embiare el compendio y otros nuevos al Cardenal my Señor. Tengo embiados algos pidalos, uno del reyno de dios de Santa Juana dela Cruz, la vida de un S. Isidor y como su S. esta tan ocupado no tiene lugar de leerlos, un los passe entretanto que vayan estos al hijo de mi sobrina la S. Poplin [...]*." Beatrice de Mendoza to Johann Gottfried Reitenspies (secretary of Cardinal Dietrichstein), Madrid, 1618 May 22. MZA Brno, Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů G140, Carton 436, Fasz. Mendosová Beatrice, fol. 6v.

<sup>42</sup> Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 150–152.

the Lobkowitz family contained the famous pastoral novel *Segunda Parte de la Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor. Originally, the book belonged to Maximilian Dietrichstein, as the signature '*M. Dietrichstein*' on the title page indicates. The book was, most probably, a gift to Prince Lobkowitz. Several notes in Spanish on the margin of different passages indicate that the work was thoroughly studied. The reader also underlined single phrases. Whether these notes were made by Maximilian Dietrichstein or a member of the Lobkowitz family remains unclear.<sup>43</sup> Both families belonged to the Spanish fraction at the imperial court and were familiar with Spanish culture and language.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the so-called 'Pernstein Salon' in Prague was one of the most important cultural centres where the pro-Spanish elite met. The Spanish ambassadors to Prague, Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan de Borja and Guillén de San Clemente, as well as other foreign envoys and local high aristocrats, among them the Dietrichsteins and Lobkowitz, were frequent guests in the Pernstein Salon, which was grouped around María Manrique de Lara, her daughter-in-law, and her daughter Polyxena.<sup>44</sup> Here novelties from abroad were exchanged, political issues discussed, and it was most likely also a place where current cultural standards, artistic trends, and the latest literature were discussed.<sup>45</sup> As Peter Burke emphasised, "a system of oral communication underlay the circulation of printed texts in the early modern era".<sup>46</sup>

### ... Travels and the Grand Tour

The easiest way to acquire foreign literature was directly when being abroad either during travels such as the Grand Tour or during longer stays abroad in the course of diplomatic missions. "The act of collecting was in most cases inextricable linked with travel and the viewing of other

<sup>43</sup> Kašparová, "Acerca de dos impresos españoles," 178.

<sup>44</sup> Jaroslava Kašparová, *Španělské Tisky. Marie Manrique de Lara y Mendoza dochované v Roudnické lobkowiczské knihovně. Spanish-printed Books of María Manrique de Lara y Mendoza preserved in the Roudnice Lobkowitz Library* (Praha: Miezinarodni asociace bibliofilu, 1995), 21.

<sup>45</sup> Regarding the significance of early modern salons for cultural transfer processes, and the role women played in the creation of this new form of sociability see Margarete Zimmermann, "Kulturtransfer in Salons des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Höfe—Salons—Akademien. Kulturtransfer und Gender im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Gesa Stedman et al. (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms, 2007), 41–64.

<sup>46</sup> Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 8.

collections" Jill Bepler emphasised.<sup>47</sup> Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach was fascinated by the rare manuscripts he had seen in the Vatican library during his Grand Tour.<sup>48</sup> Hans Ulrich Eggenberg, in turn, must have been impressed by the royal library at the Escorial, which housed an outstanding collection of precious and unique manuscripts. In 1598 Eggenberg had travelled for the first time to Spain followed by a second journey in 1606. Both travels heavily influenced Eggenberg in cultural terms, and it was during this time that he discovered a preference for Spanish literature.<sup>49</sup>

The book collection of Hans Ulrich Eggenberg is one of those collections which can be reconstructed rather well since an inventory, which was compiled in 1646, fifteen years after his death, survived. The early book holdings in this library clearly bear his signature; above all the great number of Spanish literature. Eggenberg usually added his ex-libris as well as the date and place of acquisition into his books. The inventory includes 243 titles of Spanish literature, among them precious imprints from the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.<sup>50</sup> Though in size the collection cannot be compared with the book collections in Wolfenbüttel, Munich, or some of the great aristocratic libraries in Bohemia such as the Lobkowitz and Dietrichstein libraries, according to Jaroslava Kašparová "the collection of Hispanica in the Eggenberg library is unique in many respects".<sup>51</sup> In the second half of the seventeenth century the library received a new shape through the books added by Princess Maria Ernestine Eggenberg. She moulded the book collection especially with regard to the French holdings in the library.<sup>52</sup>

Book purchases during travel often formed the core of later dynastic book collections, as in the case of the above mentioned library in Wolfenbüttel. Its founder Duke Julius of Brunswick-Lüneburg acquired a number of books while he was studying in Leuven and travelling in France

<sup>47</sup> Bepler, "Early Modern German Libraries," 700.

<sup>48</sup> "[...] *wir haben auch aldorten die bibliothec gesehen, welhe gar vil rariteten hat, under anderm 2 oder 3 gar künstlich bücher von migniatur gemahlen.*" Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Cardinal Harrach, Rome, 1659 February 24. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Korrespondez Kardinal Ernst Adalbert, Gabrielli—Ferdinand Bonaventura I, fol. 116v.

<sup>49</sup> Gerhard Bernd Marauschek, "Die Fürsten von Eggenberg unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Kunstmäzenatentums 1568–1717" (PhD diss., University of Graz, 1968), 255–256.

<sup>50</sup> Kašparová, "Die Hispanica in der eggenbergischen Büchersammlung," 122.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>52</sup> Jitka Radimská, "La literatura española en las traducciones francesas en el fondo de los Eggenberg de la biblioteca del castillo de Český Krumlov," in *La literatura española*, 113–154.

in the mid sixteenth century.<sup>53</sup> Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein explicitly instructed his son to buy books (as well as other goods) during his Grand Tour.<sup>54</sup> The brothers Bartholomäus and Paul Khevenhüller purchased classical and religious literature during their travels through the Netherlands and France,<sup>55</sup> and from the above mentioned Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach and Hans Ulrich Eggenberg we also know that they acquired many of their books during their various stays abroad.<sup>56</sup>

A remarkable finding of Spanish poetry can be made in the archive of the Lamberg family in Upper Austria. It contains a copy of poems by Luis de Góngora y Argote.<sup>57</sup> The manuscript has received no attention by researchers so far. The manuscript includes almost all of the famous poems of the author such as the *Sonetos heroicos*, *Sonetos satyricos*, *Fabula de Poliphemo y Galathea* or the *Soledades al Duque de Bejar*, and many others. On the title page we find the signature of Johann Maximilian Lamberg, who served as imperial ambassador to Spain in the 1650s. Lamberg acquired the book most probably when he visited Spain in the course of his Grand Tour. Alberto Martino emphasised that “foreign students at Spanish universities often returned to their home countries equipped with abundant manuscripts, which they had copied either themselves or had commissioned by professional copyists.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Jill Bepko, “Travelling and Posterity: The Archive, the Library and the Cabinet,” in *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000*, ed. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 191–203, here 194.

<sup>54</sup> Gernot Heiss, “„Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Diensten ... unserer ganzen fürstlichen Familie aber zur Glorie“. Erziehung und Unterricht der Fürsten von Liechtenstein in der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Der ganzen Welt ein Lob und Spiegel. Das Fürstenhaus Liechtenstein in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Evelin Oberhammer (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1990), 155–181, here 166.

<sup>55</sup> Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv Vienna, Familienarchiv Khevenhüller, Carton 10, sin fol. (Ausgaben des Bartholomäus und Paul Khevenhüller Oktober bis Dezember 1607).

<sup>56</sup> “[...] aber politische und histori buecher thue ich gar gern lesen undt kann mir der hoffmeister zeignuß geben, das ich mich mit solchen delectire undt alle schöne undt nuczl. buecher, wo ich eines in der statt weiß, entlehe undt solche lise, habe zu diesen ende l’*Historie du Ministere du Cardinal de Richelieu eingekauft, welches man für das nuczlichste und politiste in Frankreich halt, meine also das ich mit diesem euer Gn. befehl erfüllen werde undt mich dero affection würdig machen* [...]” Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Brussels, s.d. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. s.d. fols. 7rv.

<sup>57</sup> Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv Linz (ÖÖLA Linz), HA Steyr FA Lamberg, Hs 1555 (Spanische Gedichte).

<sup>58</sup> Martino, “Von den Wegen und Umwegen,” 316. On the significance of copying manuscripts in early modern time see Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001).

Góngora's writings were well received among the Spanish aristocracy. They were regarded as signs of distinction not least because of the extravagant language and the highly artificial elaboration of style. Góngora became famous for.<sup>59</sup> Whether Lamberg acquired the copy during his cavalier's tour, or later as imperial ambassador to Spain, we can be certain that he knew of the high reputation Góngora's work enjoyed among Spanish aristocratic circles. The family library in the Lamberg residence in Steyr in Upper Austria contains a further edition of Góngora's *Todas las obras* published in 1633, which was added to the library with utmost probability by Johann Maximilian Lamberg as well.

The library includes several hundred Spanish books.<sup>60</sup> Besides the aforementioned book by Góngora, another volume deserves some commentary in this context: Saavedra's work *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano*, which is included in the library in the first edition from the year 1640. What is interesting in this context is the fact that Lamberg was personally acquainted with the author. Both Saavedra as well as Lamberg participated in the peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück. In his diary, Lamberg mentions several reunions with Saavedra in the years 1644 and 1645.<sup>61</sup> Saavedra's literary activities might have been a topic in their conversations, although Lamberg does not mention them explicitly. Considering however that Saavedra's political theories were influenced by his numerous diplomatic missions, we can assume that they had been an issue for discussion.

### ... Ambassadors as Agents and Collectors

Ambassadors frequently acted as art agents and procured books, paintings, rarities, curiosities and many other art objects for their patrons, a role which "was often grounded in the diplomats' intricate knowledge of cultural affairs and their extensive social networks", as Heiko Droste argued.<sup>62</sup> The Habsburg rulers were famous for their collecting passion, and their ambassadors were in a constant hunt for art objects and curiosities from all parts of the world as well as new books or rare manuscripts.

<sup>59</sup> Alonso Dámaso, *Estudios y ensayos gongorinos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1955).

<sup>60</sup> I am deeply grateful for the assistance I received from Dr. Sabine Wagner, who put an unpublished inventory of the library at my disposal.

<sup>61</sup> Johann Maximilian Lamberg, *Diarium Lamberg, 1645–1649*, ed. Herta Hageneder (Münster: Aschendorff, 1986), 33–34, and 101.

<sup>62</sup> Heiko Droste, "Diplomacy as Means of Cultural Transfer in Early Modern Times—The Swedish Evidence," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006): 144–150, here 146.

Especially Emperor Leopold I was an enthusiastic book collector, who reminded his ambassadors emphatically of his passion: "Whenever you come across new Spanish books in Madrid, I would be glad if you would send them to Vienna", he instructed Count Pötting in 1669.<sup>63</sup> The ambassador informed the Emperor for instance about a very rare edition of a bible by the Spanish Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, which he had discovered in Madrid. Another time a precious print of the *Triumphis Maximiliani primi* was offered to him for the respectable sum of 700 doubles,<sup>64</sup> and it was Pötting who organised one of the most spectacular transactions of books from Madrid to Vienna. On behalf of the Emperor he purchased the library of Don Pedro de Navarra y de la Cueva, the Marquis of Cabrega.

The Emperor had heard about this library in 1669, when Count Martinitz presented him with a Spanish book entitled *Logros de la Monarquía en aciertos de un Valido* published in Madrid in the same year. The author of the book was the mentioned Marquis of Cabrega. Leopold appreciated the book and he instructed Pötting to send him some further copies of it.<sup>65</sup> Yet what attracted Leopold's interest most, was when he learned from the preface of the book that the Marquis owned a library of more than 5000 volumes. Immediately he instructed Pötting to make inquiries whether the library could be acquired. Leopold knew that the Marquis was an elderly man and that according to the Spanish practice his belongings would be sold after his death.<sup>66</sup> The library indeed ranked among the

<sup>63</sup> "Wann immer mal allda was neues von spanischen büchern zue finden, so sin gran embarazo könne auf der post oder sonsten herausgeschickt werden, so wird es mir allzeit gar lieb sein." Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1669 December 14. Pribram and Landwehr von Pragenau, *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, 54–56.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>65</sup> "Und hat mir der obristburggraf [Graf Johann Ignatius Bernhard Martinitz] ein spanisch Buch geschickt, dessen titulus der folgende ist: *Logros de la monarquia en aciertos de un valido*. Al rey nuestro senor don Carlo segundo. Por don Pedro de Navara y de la Cueva, cavallero de la orden de San Jago, marques de Cabrega, mayordome de la reyna, nuestra senora. Con privilegio en Madrid. Por Julian de Paredes, anno de 1669. Und weilen es mir gefallen, und ich aus gewissen Ursachen einige exemplaria verlange, also wollet ihr mit nebstem drei oder vier mir zusenden." Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1669 August 28. *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>66</sup> "[...] Die exemplaria des Buch des Marques de Cabrega sein wohl angelangt und mir sehr lieb, und habe ich eine vorred darin gelesen, que el dicho marques tenia una biblioteca de mas que 5000 libros todos espanoles, ich auch ein großer liebhaber der bücher bin, gedachter marques auch schon alt sein solle und mir bekannt ist, dass allda der brauch ist, nach dem tod alles por almoneda zue verkaufen, also habe ich euch erindern wollen, damit ihr wollet acht-haben, wann etwan gedachter marques sterben solle und sodann seine mobilia sollten verhandelt werden, ob man gemeldte bibliotec um ein billiches erhandlen kunnte. Mir würd es wohl gar lieb sein, also stelle ich alles eurer discretion anheim." *Ibid.*, 53.

most remarkable collections of Spanish books in Spain at the time.<sup>67</sup> Pötting himself had mentioned the library in his diary already two years before the Emperor took notice of it. The Marquis, who was a close friend of Pötting, had shown it to him during a visit in May 1667.<sup>68</sup>

Pötting immediately started the negotiations for the purchase of the library and sent an inventory to the Emperor.<sup>69</sup> He consulted on this matter with another friend of his, the Count of Mondéjar, a bibliophile and great book collector in his own right, who was known for his remarkable literary knowledge.<sup>70</sup> In the following year, the acquisition of the library was a frequent topic in the correspondence between the Emperor and his ambassador. In 1670, a year before the death of the Marquis, Pötting could finally inform the Emperor that the negotiations with the Marquis had been successful. According to Pötting, the collection included approximately 3,500 volumes of most splendid and rare books, including unique manuscripts which could not be found anywhere else. Pötting did not fail to mention that he could acquire this outstanding collection for a reasonable price due to the close friendship between the Marquis and himself.<sup>71</sup> From an entry in his diary we learn that he paid 52.625 Reales de vellon for the book collection.<sup>72</sup> The financial aspect however hardly played a role. Although the Emperor suggested that Pötting should pretend to acquire the library for himself, which he believed would make the purchase easier, enthusiastic collectors of the rank like the Emperor usually didn't pay much attention to the expenses when it came to satisfying their collecting passion. In fact, to acquire a library of this kind was a matter of prestige.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Martino "Die erste deutsche Übersetzung," 102.

<sup>68</sup> "Vistome el Marques de Cabrega, grande amigo mio. Tiene una liberera [librería] muy rara, de 6.000 libros, todos en español" 18 May 1667, Francisco Eusebius de Pötting, *Diario del Conde de Pötting, embajador del Sacro Imperio en Madrid (1664–1674)*, ed. Miguel Nieto Nuño, 2. vols. (Madrid: Escuela Diplomática, 1990/1993), here vol. 1, 300.

<sup>69</sup> Pribram and Landwehr von Pragenau, *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, 148.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>71</sup> "Es sind ungefähr dritthalbtausend bände von lauter köstlichen, raren und theils nicht mehr befindlichen büchern, darunter theils überaus curiose manuscripta vorhanden." Franz Eusebius Pötting to Leopold I, Madrid 1670 October 29. *Ibid.*, 131. On the Cabrega library see Miguel Nieto Nuño, *Fondos hispánicos en la Biblioteca Nacional de Viena*, 2. vols. (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988).

<sup>72</sup> "Mande traheir la libreria del Marques de Cabrega en 2778 tomos, todos en romance, a mi case, la qual compré para Su Magestad Cesarea por 52.625 reales en vellon." 1671 March 9. Pötting, *Diario del Conde de Pötting*, vol. 2, 181.

<sup>73</sup> "Weilen nun des Cabrega sein libreria feil ist, so bin ich noch einmal der meinung selbe zue kaufen, allein vermein ich besser und wohlfeiler selbe zue bekommen, wann Pötting solche gleichsam vor sich kauft. Also könnet ihr wohl mit ihm handeln und den Preis adjustiren. [...] Werdet



Pötting probably acquired books for himself as well. Unfortunately no inventory of his personal book collection survived. Only occasionally he made references to book purchases in his diary. In January 1664 he noted for instance that he had bought the book *Navidades de Madrid y noches entretenida en ocho novelas* written by the Spanish noble lady Doña Mariana de Carvajal y Saavedra. She ranked among the few female writers of the epoch who was much read already during her lifetime.<sup>74</sup> Interesting in this context is that the book, a kind of a guide book on courtly behaviour, was dedicated to Count Pötting.<sup>75</sup>

We gain more insights on private book purchases during diplomatic missions when regarding the case of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. Harrach succeeded Pötting as imperial ambassador to Spain. We are particularly well informed about his activities during the years in Spain due to a very comprehensive diary he wrote in this time. From his personal records we know that he frequently received book sellers in his house and sometimes acquired books on a weekly basis.<sup>76</sup> Other and probably the most important sources for his book purchases were the *almonedas* in Madrid, public auctions where the legacy of nobles was sold. Harrach was a frequent customer at these *almonedas*. In April 1674 he mentioned for instance several visits at the *almoneda* of the archbishop Masquereña, where he eventually bought over 20 books.<sup>77</sup> In July of the same year he bought over 300 books in the *almoneda* of the Count of Casa Rubias. According to an entry in his diary he spent the whole day cataloguing these books.<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, to my knowledge this inventory has not survived and we hardly have any further information about his literary preferences,

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*euch also nach diesem richten, dann ich will sie auf alle weis kaufen.*" Leopold to Pötting, Vienna, 1670 June 18. Pribram and Landwehr von Pragenau, *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, 88.

<sup>74</sup> Pötting, *Diario del conde de Pötting*, vol. 1., 10.

<sup>75</sup> Noël Valis, "The Spanish Storyteller Mariana de Carvajal," in *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson et al. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 251–282.

<sup>76</sup> For instance on June 13th 1674 he noted: "[...] gegen mittag ist ein buechführer zu mir komen, von deme ich etliche bücher gekauft [...]". AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 198r.

<sup>77</sup> See for instance the entry in the diary from April 12th 1674, where he noted that he had bought twenty books in the *almoneda* of the archbishop Masquereña (fol. 166r.), and once again on the 18th of April (fol. 169r). On August 11th of the same year he acquired books in the *almoneda* of Don Jusepe Gonzales (fols. 224v–225r.) AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1. In the following years, further entries in his diary refer to Harrach's book purchases in different *almonedas* in Madrid.

<sup>78</sup> "Ich habe heundt frueh auß des Conde de Casa Rubias verlassenschaft 300 etliche bücher gekauft undt den ganzen tag selbe zu registriren zuegebracht." AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 214r.

the content of his books, and the language in which they were written. Besides books, Harrach also acquired a remarkable number of paintings in these *almonedas*, which formed the core of the family collection.<sup>79</sup>

Other members of the family also collected Spanish literature. His wife Johanna Theresia and their daughter Maria Josefa owned fine collections of Spanish books. Before her marriage to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Johanna Theresia served as a lady-in-waiting at the Spanish court. It was during this time that she became familiar with Spanish culture. After her death, she left all her Spanish books to her daughter Maria Josefa and the books came into the possession of the family Kienburg, into which the Harrach daughter had married.<sup>80</sup>

In the mid-twentieth century the Czech scholar Vaclav Černý made a remarkable finding in the library of the Kienburg residence Mladá Vožice in Bohemia. He discovered a copy of Calderón's drama *El Gran Duque de Gandia*, which most probably originally belonged to Countess Maria Josefa Harrach.<sup>81</sup> Like her mother, Maria Josefa had entered the service of the Spanish Queen and became acquainted with Calderón's writings during this time.<sup>82</sup> The Kienburg library contains further treasures of Spanish baroque literature, whose origins are closely linked to Countess Harrach and the time she spent in Madrid. Besides the aforementioned copy, four further manuscripts of Spanish baroque poetry belong to the library, all of these being works by Calderón.<sup>83</sup> The signature '*La condessa de Harrach*' on the title page of the copies clearly indicate that Maria Josefa Harrach was the owner of these books. Overall, the library contains 183 pieces of different Spanish *comedias*, bound together in fifteen volumes. Ten of

<sup>79</sup> Bianca M. Lindorfer, "Cosmopolitan Aristocracy and the Diffusion of Baroque Culture: Cultural Transfer from Spain to Austria in the Seventeenth Century" (PhD diss., European University Institute Florence, 2009), 113–138.

<sup>80</sup> AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Carton 205 (Testament von Johanna Theresia von Harrach, 19. Dezember 1706).

<sup>81</sup> Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El Gran Duque de Gandia. Comedia de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, ed. (with introduction and notes) Václav Černý (Prague: Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, 1963).

<sup>82</sup> On the 26th of September 1673, only a month after his arrival in Spain, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach noted in his diary that the Queen had accepted his daughter as lady of honour. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 77v.

<sup>83</sup> They are the works *El postrer duelo de España*; *El monstruo de los jardines*; *Eco y Narcis*, and *El gran príncipe de Fez. Don Baltasar de Loyola*. Quoted in Martino, "Von den Wegen und Umwegen," 318. Another manuscript, entitled *No hay que creerni en la verdad*, is said to be the work of Calderón as well. Henry W. Sullivan, *Calderón in the German Lands and the Low Countries. His Reception and Influence, 1654–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 98. See also Václav Černý, "Una nueva comedia de Calderón," *Atlántida* 4/22 (1966): 394–419.

them also contain the signature ‘*Soi de D. Fran. Marquez Messia natural de la villa de Villacastin*’, which indicates that Countess Harrach acquired them second-hand during her stay in Spain.<sup>84</sup>

### *Book Collections and Aristocratic Self-Representation*

The history of aristocratic libraries can be fully understood only in the light of the social and cultural changes in noble society at the beginning of the early modern period. Books were certainly acquired for educational purposes, and many were also read for pleasure. Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein instructed his son to occupy himself with useful things, and he recommended the “reading of scientific and historical books as well as books on art and politics. Above all, works by ecclesiastical writers should be read, since their life and conduct can serve as model for a godly life”.<sup>85</sup> Occasionally we also find traces of the reading of books, either in the book itself when parts were underlined or comments added at the margin, or when references to the reading of books were made in private documents or letters. However, evidences that point to the impression a particular book left on its reader are rare. One of these few examples can be found in the correspondence of Cardinal Dietrichstein. In 1620, his agent at the archducal court in Brussels, Baron Somogyi, sent an edition of the second part of Cervantes’ novel *Don Quixote* to the Cardinal. “The reading of the adventures of the unfortunate knight should give you pleasure in these stormy times”, the agent wrote to Cardinal Dietrichstein.<sup>86</sup> Even more interesting is that Dietrichstein actively used the image of the confused knight Cervantes created in his novel. In one of his letters, Dietrichstein

<sup>84</sup> Petr Mašek, *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Europa. Vol II: Tschechische Republik. Schloßbibliotheken unter der Verwaltung des Nationalmuseums in Prag* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997), 141–143.

<sup>85</sup> Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, Instruction vor unseren geliebten sohn: “*Andere curiose und nützliche occupations könne auch seyn stat des spilens in besehung und ordinirung curioser sachen, lesung schöner bücher, allerley wissenschaften und künsten, historicorum politicorum und aller besten und vortrefflichsten Scribenten und authoren [...] Geystliche authores, billiche, gerechte und wahrhafft seynd zu lesen und zu haben, so justitiam docent und zu Gott fiehren durch einen aufrichtigen wandl und lehr [...]*.” Quoted in Herbert Haupt, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein 1611–1684. Erbe und Bewahrer in schwerer Zeit* (Munich-Berlin-London-New York: Prestel, 2007), 266–267.

<sup>86</sup> “[Que] se divertiera en aquellos tiempos turbulentos con la lectura sobre las aventuras y desgracias que acaecían a ese caballero en sus andanzas”. Quoted in Josef Polišenský, “Hispania de 1614 en la Biblioteca de los Dietrichstein de Mikulov,” *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 6 (1972): 199–203, here, 199.

described the Bohemian winter king Friedrich Elector Palatine as 'Don Quixote'.<sup>87</sup>

As a baroque noble library usually included several hundred, sometimes even thousands of books, it is rather doubtful that the aristocracy read all the books they owned. "An enthusiastic book collector must not be invariably always an enthusiastic reader as well", remarked the scholars Brown and Elliott.<sup>88</sup> Libraries, rather, "have more to tell us about owners than about readers", Peter Burke emphasised.<sup>89</sup>

As the initially quoted statement by Johann Basilius Küchelbecker clearly reveals, the emerging interest in books was rooted in radical changes of noble values. The early modern aristocracy was confronted with a gradual loss of its former feudal functions, and traditional virtues underwent a crucial transformation. Changes in warfare, technical innovations but also the fact that early modern armies increasingly were composed by paid soldiers constituted a rupture with the traditional noble role in society, which was grounded on military merits and knightly bravery. As career and service at the court became more important, nobles realised the importance of educational qualifications and that cultural skills were essential in order to achieve high offices at court. At the same time, the nobility had to face the rise of urbane elites and university trained commoners, who increasingly took over functions at court.

But more importantly, humanists and men of letters increasingly regarded virtue "as a product of learning, thus the education in humane letters and the liberal arts".<sup>90</sup> Learned men from the urbane classes, poets, lawyers and theologians criticized the nobility's arrogance towards the world of book-learning. In almost all parts of Europe learned men campaigned against uncultured and uneducated nobles who saw the source of their social standing in their ancestry and the glorious deeds of their forbears. In a speech given in 1578 at the University of Tübingen the scholar Nikodemus Frischling for instance described the nobility as a "bunch of crude creatures that are lacking any sense of culture and morality".<sup>91</sup> In

<sup>87</sup> Kašparová, "Acerca de dos Impresos españoles," 179.

<sup>88</sup> Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King. The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 23.

<sup>89</sup> Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, 7.

<sup>90</sup> James S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona. Patrician culture and class relations, 1490–1714* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), here chapter five: [104–105], accessed July 3, 2012, <http://libro.uca.edu/amelang/hcb.htm>.

<sup>91</sup> Ronald Asch, *Europäischer Adel in der Frühen Neuzeit: Eine Einführung* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 134. On Frischling's speech see Ronald Asch, "Bürgertum, Universität und Adel. Eine württembergische Kontroverse des Späthumanismus," in *Stadt*

this situation nobles realised that they had to redefine themselves and develop new ideals and forms of representation in order to reassert their cultural and social hegemony.<sup>92</sup> Ultimately, the aristocracy responded to the challenges of the epoch by adopting values of urban and literary culture, and what would provide better testimony of a nobleman's education and culture than to establish a huge library and surround oneself with objects that symbolise erudition.

Scholars and men of letters clearly disapproved nobles' obsession with accumulating books, books they never read, as some contemporaries claimed. "I don't go searching in those libraries owned by archbishops, dukes or by marquises, for boasting's sake assembled, just for looks, since rarely do their owners read their books", a Spanish contemporary mocked.<sup>93</sup> Fernando Bouza emphasised that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed two extreme attitudes as regards the ownership of libraries. "Lettered men on the one hand considered books as inherently useful and they assembled mainly books related to their field of specialisation, whereas the ownership of libraries by nobles on the other often had been just another sign in the rhetoric of distinction". Certainly, these two attitudes "are rarely manifested in their extreme forms", Bouza argued, but in practice it was instead a blend of both.<sup>94</sup> It remains unchallenged, however, that universal libraries like collections of paintings or curiosities clearly had representational functions, which should demonstrate the owner's humanistic education and wide-ranging interests.

### Conclusion

The establishment of huge private libraries is a phenomenon which can be observed in early modern noble society all over Europe. While in the fifteenth century the ordinary noble possessed perhaps some devotional works or books of a practical nature such as on the art of hunting or on agriculture, by the end of the sixteenth century this situation had changed profoundly. Book collections of some hundreds of books no longer were

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*und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), 384–410.

<sup>92</sup> See for instance Roland Asch, "Zwischen defensiver Legitimation und kultureller Hegemonie: Strategien adliger Selbstbehauptung in der frühen Neuzeit," *zeitenblicke* 4 (2005), Nr. 2 [2005-06-28], accessed July 3, 2012, <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2005/2/Asch>.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted in Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 65.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 65.

something unusual. With the changes in noble values, the reading of books gained in popularity. Moreover, the nobility realised the symbolic value of private libraries as indicators of humanistic education and connoisseurship, qualities which increasingly gained in importance in noble society.

The Austrian nobility constituted no exception in this respect. High ranking noble families devoted themselves to collecting books, which were passed from one generation to the next, and ultimately formed amazing libraries that reflected the cultural and intellectual universe of generations of collectors. A whole industry evolved from the collecting obsession of the aristocracy, which, of course, was not limited to books and rare manuscripts but included all sort of art objects, rarities, paintings, and curiosities. Printing houses, book-sellers, and an extensive network of book and art agents were involved in satisfying the bibliophile interests and collecting passion of the European elite. The aristocracy additionally used their personal networks. Books circulated within families and friends, and the many travels abroad provided opportunities to acquire books in foreign languages.

As this article has shown, the reading of Spanish literature prospered especially in Catholic and pro-Spanish circles at the imperial court. It has to be remembered that in the sixteenth and still at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Spain was the shining example not only in respect to its political power but also in cultural terms. Its cultural prosperity radiated far beyond the boundaries of the Spanish monarchy. Spanish fashions were imitated at all European courts and it was highly fashionable to dress according to the Spanish style, and to speak Spanish or at least include Spanish phrases and words into one's own language. The numerous Spanish books on conversation and rhetoric as well as grammars and dictionaries we find in noble libraries bear testimony to this trend. Only in the mid-seventeenth century Spain lost its cultural hegemony in favour of France.

Spain's cultural prosperity is also mirrored in its literary exports. The works of Spanish baroque writers were read all over Europe. The Jesuits played a prominent role in the distribution of Spanish writings. Since the mid sixteenth century, Jesuit colleges mushroomed in the German Empire, and in these centres the Catholic nobility became familiar with Spanish writings and moral ideals. Similar important were the close dynastic links between the two Habsburg branches. Over a period of hundred and fifty years, the dynastic alliances between Madrid and Vienna bridged the Iberian World with Central Europe and provided a framework for an

intensive cultural exchange. The Spaniards who came to Vienna in the course of dynastic marriages or diplomatic missions maintained their cultural practices and language with self-confidence and thereby shaped the cultural atmosphere at the imperial court. Noble families at court followed the example of the ruling dynasties and established close ties to the Spanish elite, which influenced their consumption habits, including their reading patterns.

The libraries of Austrian and Bohemian aristocratic families clearly reflect the close relations to the Spanish Empire. To what extent all these books were actually read by their owners often remains unclear. Only occasionally, entries in the books or archival evidences bear testimony to the reading of a particular book. There are certainly some outstanding examples of true bibliophiles who collected books not only for their symbolic capital, as signs of distinction and erudition. Yet if we consider the large quantity of books individual nobles collected it is rather doubtful that all of them had been read by their owners. Nevertheless, it is unquestioned that the preoccupation with literature—be it as a collector or as an avid reader—gained importance in early modern noble society, and in this sense the nobility's contribution to the spread of literature and ideas cannot be ignored.

### *Archival Sources*

Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv Vienna, Familienarchiv Harrach (AVA Vienna FA Harrach), Carton 140, 205, 443.

AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1 (Tagebuch von Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach), and Hs 206 (Index Titulorum Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Harrachianae).

Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv Vienna, Familienarchiv Khevenhüller, Carton 10. Moravský Zemský Archiv, Brno (MZA Brno), Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů G140, Carton 436.

Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv Linz (OÖLA Linz), HA Steyr FA Lamberg, Hs. 1555 (Spanische Gedichte).





## CHAPTER SIX

### BEFORE WE ARE CONDEMNED: INQUISITORIAL FEARS AND PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF NEW SPAIN

Idalia García Aguilar

... given the zeal by which writings and books were persecuted through the institutions responsible for their censorship, we can appreciate the distrust or even fear they inspired in those who, although unable to decipher their symbols, still understood that they might be dangerous objects which could cause damage, transmit heresy or even be condemned to burning, in the same way as men. The Inquisition, with its indexes, censorship and forbidden books, encouraged these fears.<sup>1</sup>

The past has been the inspiration for many darkly fascinating and daring stories, some of which may be quite familiar to specific study groups and might even have become a part of historic imaginary, which is socially transmitted through novels and other media. However, there are also many stories that have gone untold or have received less attention, perhaps due to a lack of interest or because the topic is not particularly motivating. An example of the former could be stories dealing with the gladiators of Ancient Rome or medieval kings, and the latter could include stories about libraries.

Although these stories do not in fact represent a salient line of research among historical topics as yet, they are gradually gaining more relevance in a number of countries, and have thus become a more frequent historical topic, in part due to the influence of studies on written culture of the past since 1958, after the Spanish publication of *The Coming of the Book*, by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin. As a result, a great deal of literature on libraries of the past has been generated; however, it does involve a widely dispersed bibliography from specialized journals and chapter extracts. Within this international context, Mexican historiography has not demonstrated a great deal of interest in the libraries of New Spain. This attitude is apparent even in the pioneer work on document recovery and transcription carried out by Francisco Fernández del Castillo (1982)

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<sup>1</sup> Adelina Sarrión Mora, *Médicos e Inquisición en el siglo XVII* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha), 2006.

and Edmundo O'Gormann (1939). Although these classic studies are accurate, it should also be noted that a number of interesting contributions regarding Novohispanic libraries have been made, which have facilitated the recovery of an almost unexplored documentary heritage.<sup>2</sup> However, two distinctive features can also be observed in these studies: first of all, very little interest is shown in new documentary sources, and secondly, when a new source is analyzed, it is usually a part of a more general study.

In Mexico, therefore, the development of a line of work dealing with this type of library is non-existent, despite the fact that the historical documents recovered so far testify to the existence of a richly diverse literary culture. Proof of this is the enormous number of books that have been conserved with historical evidence (burn marks or handwritten notes), which allows them to be associated with important figures and institutions of the Colonial period. This bibliographic heritage, conserved in public and private collections, also represents an enormous source of information, which has yet to be fully exploited.

Due to the small number of studies carried out on Novohispanic libraries, our knowledge of the books in these collections is rather fragmentary and mythicized, and often based on erroneous interpretations. This situation is propitiated by the constant repetition of their content in secondary sources which are rarely questioned or verified. To some degree, this historiographic perception is closely related to our patrimonial valuation of the bibliographic legacy from the Colonial period, which affects not only the conservation of documents and books, but also their value as sources of knowledge. This is the prevailing idea of change, for example, in the movement of historiographic renewal promoted by Carmen Castañeda, which opened the door to the proposal of new questions, and thus to the recovery and greater exploitation of these Colonial testimonies.

With this benefit we can confirm that the introduction of methodological elements in investigation work, such as bibliographic material, facilitates a deeper knowledge of the antique books conserved in our country. The recovery of historical documentation (of which little was known) in conjunction with the information obtained from antique books, now allows us to reconsider what we have learned so far from these books. In this way, a more thorough investigation can be carried out into the history

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<sup>2</sup> García, Idalia, "Suma de bibliotecas novohispanas: hacia un estado de la investigación", en *Leer en tiempos de la Colonia: imprenta, bibliotecas y lectores en la Nueva España*, Idalia García and Pedro Rueda Ramírez (eds.). (México: CUIB, 2010), 281–307.

Available at [http://132.248.242.3/~publica/archivos/libros/leer\\_tiempos\\_colonia.pdf](http://132.248.242.3/~publica/archivos/libros/leer_tiempos_colonia.pdf) [Accessed May 2012].

of the Book of New Spain with new contributions regarding printers, such as Zuñiga y Ontiveros or María Fernández de Jáuregui, commercial bookstores such as Ibarra, and even institutional libraries such as the Palafoxiana to mention but a few interesting examples.<sup>3</sup>

With these documental witnesses, as well as others employed in the past, we can gain a better understanding of the written culture of the past in the same way as those used to testify to the existence of private libraries. Among these testimonies, *post mortem* inventories have shown to be of particular importance; these are documents which record the properties of the deceased and which frequently include books. The inventory is part of a file which was required in the process of patrimonial succession within a family and therefore contains additional personal information besides the mere listing of objects.

The enumerative aspect of this document and the frequency of its use in certain social groups allow the inventories to be studied as a series. These testimonies, therefore, are widely used to extend our knowledge of day to day life and material culture. In Mexico; however, these documents have been poorly exploited for the purpose of learning more about the written culture of the Colonial period despite the fact that they are undoubtedly invaluable testimonies that could shed considerable light on the contents of private libraries.<sup>4</sup>

These inventories, as with other documents, are the result of the implementation of European legal traditions in the overseas possessions of Spain through official, academic and practical channels.<sup>5</sup> However, despite having a fairly similar body of law, the administrative procedures did not

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<sup>3</sup> Manuel Suárez Rivera *Felipe y Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros: impresores ilustrados y empresarios culturales (1761–1825)*, Bachelor dissertation, UNAM, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2005; Manuel Suárez Rivera, *En el arco frontero al palacio: análisis del inventario de la Librería de Cristóbal de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1758*. Master dissertation (Master in History)-UNAM, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2009; Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros, *La Imprenta de María Fernández de Jáuregui: Testigo y protagonista de los cambios en la cultura impresa durante el periodo 1801–1817*. PhD dissertation UCM. Instituto Universitario de Investigación Ortega y Gasset, 2009; Olivia Moreno Gamboa, *Historia de una librería novohispana del siglo XVIII*. Master dissertation (Master in History), UNAM, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2006; Amado Manuel Cortés, *Del manuscrito a la imprenta, el nacimiento de la librería moderna en la Nueva España: la Biblioteca Palafoxiana*. PhD dissertation, BUAP, Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2009, available at <http://hicui.dosmildiez.net/marcov/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/DoctoradoAmadoManuel.pdf> [Accessed June 2012].

<sup>4</sup> José Enciso Contreras, *Antiguos libros jurídicos en dos bibliotecas de Zacatecas* (Zacatecas: Tribunal Superior de Justicia del Estado de Zacatecas, 2003).

<sup>5</sup> Javier Barrientos Grandón, *La Cultura jurídica en la Nueva España: sobre la recepción de la tradición jurídica europea en el virreinato* (México: UNAM. Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2003), 11–12. Available at <http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/libros/1/269/4.pdf> [Accessed June 2012].

produce the same results in every country in the American continent under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Crown. In the case of Mexico, we can find records of private libraries not only in *post mortem* inventories, but also in other legal procedures. This was demonstrated in the search for Novohispanic private libraries we conducted in the General Archive of the Nation (AGN). To our surprise, we discovered a collection of documents pertaining to a legal procedure presented before the Supreme Court of the Inquisition, instead of the patrimonial succession observed in the *post mortem* inventory.

These documents contain a list of books that were in the possession of one person. The lists are part of an inquisitorial legal procedure established to control the commerce of books belonging to the deceased and are just as useful as the inventories, despite their source. This legal process involved the area of commerce (the bookseller) and private (the owner); however, from the year 1530, the objective was the control of bookstores where the distribution of forbidden books was the greatest danger.<sup>6</sup>

A few years earlier, in 1502, State control had focused on the production of books in an attempt to curtail the spread of dangerous ideas “contrary to religion and to the dependence and submission that [the people] owed to the sovereign”.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the printers were forced to obtain a permission to print before elaborating any printed edition. However, it was not until the Pragmatic of 1558, that the censorial action of the Inquisition was defined as *a posteriori*. In other words, this censorial institution could only act upon texts in circulation, whether printed or in manuscript.

By 1570, when the Court of Inquisition was founded in Mexico, the legal issues involved in book printing and inquisitorial control over the process had already been established and had proven effective. As with other tribunals, the Novohispanic Court was under the direct control of the Council of the Supreme General Spanish Inquisition, and immediately after its establishment, the order was given to commence the persecution of outbreaks of heresy along with the main suspect of distribution: books. This attack on written culture had far-reaching effects that encompassed a vast territory, including New Spain, Guatemala, Nicaragua and the Philippines. The publication of the well-known *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (List of Banned Books) in 1559, gave rise to the gradual consolidation

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<sup>6</sup> José Martínez Millán, “Aportaciones a la formación del estado moderno y a la política española a través de la censura inquisitorial durante el período 1480–1559”, in *La Inquisición española: nueva visión, nuevos horizontes* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1980), 553.

<sup>7</sup> José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (México: UNAM, Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 1987), 418.

of an apparatus of control which proved to be quite effective, but with a few flaws.

This control involved actions of "surveillance in businesses dealing with printing, imports, and distribution, included in the framework created for the catalogues of forbidden books in 1547, 1551, 1559, 1568, 1583, 1612, 1640, 1707, 1747 and 1790".<sup>8</sup> *General Rules, Mandates and Warnings* were included in these indexes in 1583.<sup>9</sup> In the following century, after 1612, *Mandates for booksellers, brokers and dealers of books* was added to these rules; this was a specific regulation which required booksellers to elaborate an inventory in alphabetical order of every book on sale in their place of business, within sixty days of publishing the Index. The inventory had to be renewed every year and handed over to the inquisitors for revision and censorship. Prior to this, in 1605, the authorities had attempted to force booksellers to keep a record of their books which included the names of the buyers; however, this did not proceed due to the number of complaints presented by those affected, giving rise to the requirement to provide an annual inventory.

For the same reason, every bookseller was required to have a copy of the Index in their place of business in order to control the circulation of forbidden books and to ensure that no one could plead ignorance of the rules. With this idea in mind, therefore, these mandates were subsequently published independently with a smaller presentation in the form of *Instructions* or edicts. In this way they were spread by proclamation and public exhibition affording the inquisitors greater control over book censorship. However, it is important to remember that the first prohibitions of books were not divulged through edicts, but through letters of agreement and provisions.<sup>10</sup> Around 1530, instructions were issued to authorize visits to inspect bookstores and libraries;<sup>11</sup> however, these appear to have been conducted rather sporadically.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Francisco Bethencourt, *La Inquisición en la época moderna: España, Portugal, e Italia, siglos XV–XIX* (Madrid: Akal, 1997), 253.

<sup>9</sup> Manuel Peña, "El libro bajo sospecha", in *La memoria de los libros: estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*, Pedro Cátedra and María Luisa López Vidriero (eds.) (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), vol. I, 807.

<sup>10</sup> Miguel de Pinta Llorente, *La Inquisición española y los problemas de la cultura y de la intolerancia*, (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1953), 16.

<sup>11</sup> Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, *El libro en España y América. Legislación y censura (siglos XV–XVIII)* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2000), vol. I, 143.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Kamen, *La inquisición española: una revisión histórica* (Barcelona: Critica, 2004), 120.

We should also keep in mind; however, that the inquisition could only act upon books that were available to readers; therefore, the only way they could find out about pernicious books was through denouncements. This was perhaps the most effective form of control because, as was proclaimed in edicts and the Indexes, any good Christian was morally required to denounce the possession of forbidden books, in their own possession and in possession of others. The regulation also took into consideration the fact that a pious reader would be capable of identifying a dangerous book, even though it was not included in the Index or considered as such by the Inquisition. In this way, the readers themselves would inform the Inquisition of the possession or knowledge of any prohibited literature they might have.

Moreover, the fact that the publication and distribution of the Indexes required a considerable amount of time propitiated the use of edicts to remind readers of the dangers represented by certain books. In this way, the edicts provided a constant reminder of the punitive and economic punishments as well as the moral and social sanctions resulting from the possession of forbidden books;<sup>13</sup> risks which influenced the reconsideration or cancellation of access to prohibited readings, and basically forced booksellers and merchants to comply with the annual inventory of books on sale, and with the inspection visits to their places of business. This would explain the higher number of inventories coinciding with the publication of a new Index.

With the help of the edicts, the focus of study has been on those books that were prohibited during the Age of Enlightenment (eighteenth century) up to the moment of the Independence in the 19th century. In spite of the political effects that were generated by the Independence movements, a study of this aspect over such a long period is viable, as many aspects of day to day life in the American territories continued to function exactly as they had during the Colonial period; such is the case of the Inquisition and the Court of the Deceased. However, neither the effect of this type of inquisitorial censure, from the moment of publication of the first edict in New Spain, nor the procedures for its publication and agreements with the printers have been analyzed.

The nature of the edicts makes them difficult to conserve since they were elaborated to be publicly proclaimed and subsequently posted on the doors of the most important churches. The edicts dealing with books

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<sup>13</sup> For instance 200 ducats in 1720 for the possession of a forbidden book.

are part of a group comprising "particular" edicts, which involved specific crimes.<sup>14</sup> The importance of these documents was such that it was considered necessary to generate a protocol and precise documentation in order to ensure that their contents were distributed to every corner of the territory of New Spain. In this way the authorities were able to guarantee that no one could plead ignorance of the mandates set out in the edicts. The study of vice-regal edicts has shown the number of publications to be in the region of 244 throughout the Colonial period, of which only one hundred have been read in detail.<sup>15</sup>

Fortunately, the edicts that have been conserved, together with documentation pertaining to them which was found in the inquisitors' correspondence, provide a few specific details, such as the fact that their greatest concern was focused on bookstores, rather than groups of reader from different levels of society. The conservation of printed edicts and manuscripts also gives us an insight into the day to day reality which was constantly affected by the prohibition of books.

### *In Search of Private Books*

Controlling the circulation of books, forbidden or not, also involved paying close attention to a particular movement of objects brought about by the management of patrimonial succession at that time. It was the custom of the time to prepare *post mortem* inventories in preparation for the subsequent sale of possessions. For this reason, in most cases, books were not inherited, but were sold in public auctions. The inventories, therefore, were prepared by specialists in the appraisal of different objects, and the books were the responsibility of booksellers. The inquisitors knew of this social practice, which explains why the *Mandates* included greater control over the private libraries of the deceased, which could not be sold without prior inspection by the Inquisition and the preparation of a *memory* or listing. For example, in 1631, we find a consideration that justifies the measures taken:

... because experience has shown that, due to negligence, ignorance or a lack of information on prohibited or expurged books, many of them have been found and are still found in old bookstores, books which have gone from hand to hand and many owners, we now order and require all booksellers or

<sup>14</sup> Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571–1700* (México: FCE, 1996), 75.

<sup>15</sup> Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 75–76.

any other person to make lists and memories of such book collections for their appraisal, sale or any other movement. Once elaborated, these lists and memories must be handed over to the person or persons authorized by the Holy Office for their inspection and registration.<sup>16</sup>

Despite this, it appears to have been necessary to continue insisting for more control in the private ownership of books, and in 1706 the following is reiterated:

That the lists or memories of private collections to be sold must be handed over to the Examiner, who will inspect them, take note of any forbidden books and those which will need inspection. The Examiner or Examiners will carry out the inspection, returning the books which have shown no inconvenience and retaining those that have, the lists or memories of the book collection will be revised with due care, punctuality and legality, a payment of fifty ducats is required to cover the expenses of the Holy Office, and others corresponding to the quality and circumstances of the crime which they have incurred: All of which must be complied with and kept inviolably by those dealing with books by month, or in a store, brokers, buyers, and booksellers, or anyone involved in any way in the commerce of books.<sup>17</sup>

If we look closely, common practice which is not in dispute with the rights and customs generates a specific problem, in the face of which a reminder of established regulations must be given. Thus, in 1752, the inquisitorial court in Mexico stated that:

Such is the disorder, that permission is requested to retain the forbidden books of the Ascending deceased and keep them for the successor, thereby breaking the wise Roman Law which forbids the passing of poisons through inheritance: And even without permission and without scruples of any kind, these dangerous writings are transported in book collections, which are exposed as corrupt, through the death of their owners, against the Natural and Civil Law which prohibits the sale of contraband which is harmful to public health.<sup>18</sup>

A few years later, we find a similar message originating in Spain and addressed to the examiners of the Holy Office, informing them to take great care in the task they must carry out, and thus in 1756, they state that:

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<sup>16</sup> *Novus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum...* editus... D. Antonii Zapata. Hispali: ex typographia Francisci de Lyra, 1632, h.10v. Available at Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico (Spain).

<sup>17</sup> "Instrucción del Obispo de Ceuta a los Libreros, 1706". AGN, Inquisición 732, 2a parte, exp. 19, h.2r.

<sup>18</sup> "Edicto del Tribunal de México, contra la heretica pravedad y apostasia en esta Ciudad, y Provincias de esta Nueva-España, 1758". AGN, Edictos, vol. 1, fol. 58.



When the libraries or book collections of a Minister, Lawyer, or private person are offered in sale due to death, absence or other reasons, the Booksellers are required to prepare an inventory and appraisal of the books, which must be handed over to the Examiner. And as there are usually many kinds of books, it would be convenient for the examiners to inspect the list and elaborate a separate memory which should include forbidden books, new books and any unknown books which require special attention. The bookseller must then separate these books and bring them to the examiner, who will provide a receipt for the books handed over. On occasions, special reasons may require the Examiners to personally inspect the books in the Library, in this case they must carry out this task with due care, showing courtesy and respect to the authority and decency of the owners and the people who serve them.<sup>19</sup>

The regulations actually refer to the sale of any library or book collection, on the death of the owner or for any other reason; however, it also includes the transportation of any collection of books from one city to another. It was during this change of ownership or place that the Inquisitorial Court could have access to the collection and carry out a search for prohibited literature. Another objective of the inquisitorial regulations was to control the activities of booksellers, and to some extent, the relatives of the deceased, in the second-hand book market, as it was possible to distribute *non sanctos* books through these mechanisms. As can be appreciated in this statement that arrived from Madrid in 1756:

... one of the most opportune measures has been, and is, that no Community, Private or Bookseller's Library or book collection can be appraised, inspected or offered in sale, unless the appraising bookseller prepares lists or Memories in the correct format, of all the books, with a note or separate list of the books he believes to be prohibited; the Memories must be signed and presented to the Council immediately, so that they may be recorded and inspected, and the prohibited books taken for examination; said booksellers and the appraisers hired are hereby ordered to comply with this mandate to the letter, otherwise no excuse will be accepted and they will be punished in accordance with the sentences established in said Mandates and any others they may deserve for their excesses and circumstances.<sup>20</sup>

From these regulatory texts, we can appreciate that the inquisitors could not meddle in the private readings of anyone without justifiable cause or event, which meant that they could only gain access to a private library in

<sup>19</sup> "Instrucción que han de observar los Ministros Revisores que el Ilustrissimo Señor Obispo de Zeuta ha nombrado para la visita de los libros que se traen a estos Reynos, 1756", AGN, Indiferente general, caja 1144, exp. 11, h.2r.

<sup>20</sup> "Instrucción para los libreros, 1756", AGN, Indiferente, caja 4563, exp. 1, fol. 1v.

use if a report had been filed or a suspicion proven, and that these rules were established so that “every good Christian could easily discover and rapidly denounce any book that had not yet been condemned by the Holy Office, but which deserved to be, in the opinion of the pious reader”.<sup>21</sup> Censorship was the responsibility of commissioners and notaries, but it was the examiners who determined what could be considered orthodox or heterodox in the cultural practices of a society, and by doing so; they also had an effect on the censorship of books. Given the importance of such work, the authorization to examine and qualify books was granted directly by the Supreme Council, after the inquisitors of the corresponding inquisitorial district had reached a decision regarding purity of blood and theological formation. In other words, this permission could only be granted by the General Inquisitor himself.<sup>22</sup> In this way, the inquisitors acted and set in motion the machinery every time instructions were received from Spain.<sup>23</sup>

There can be no doubt that this constant reiteration of the norm had a significant impact on the cultural practices of the time. Of course, we cannot be sure that everyone complied with the requirement to report on their books or to denounce the owners of certain books. However, the frequent denunciations of books, both personal and those belonging to others, provide a strong testimony to this practice, which was apparently quite common. Furthermore, the publication of each new Index encouraged communication regarding personal books. In this study, we found that the presentation of these reports increased after the publication of an Index, for example, in the year 1612.

Other authors have pointed out that the publication of catalogues of forbidden books also triggered the inspection of libraries,<sup>24</sup> although we assume that private libraries were not included. To date, the testimonies examined have not provided data to document the visit of inquisitors to inspect private libraries in New Spain. The only case we have found is one which authorizes the visit to the library of an Augustinian priest, Juan Zamorano, in 1616.

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<sup>21</sup> Enrique Gacto Fernández, “Libros venenosos (sobre los principios doctrinales de la censura inquisitorial)”, in *Inquisición y censura: el acoso a la inteligencia en España*, Enrique Gacto Fernández (ed.), (Madrid: Dykinson, 2006), 21–55 (23).

<sup>22</sup> Marina Torres Arce, *Inquisición, regalismo y reformismo borbónico: el tribunal de la Inquisición de Logroño a finales del Antiguo Régimen* (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2006), 192.

<sup>23</sup> Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Censura, libros e Inquisición en el Perú Colonial, 1570–1754* (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), 21.

<sup>24</sup> Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Censura, libros e Inquisición en el Perú Colonial*, 49.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the publication of an Index or edict would instigate the preparation of a list of the books in the possession of a particular person at a specific time, denominated "books in use". These could be considered libraries in formation, taking into account that, after the report, the collection might be reduced or increased. In general, a particularly scrupulous reader would inform the Inquisition of new acquisitions, the books in his possession and even the transportation of books from one place to another within the territory. In the end, only the heirs provided the last records of a library. However, it is extremely rare to find a complete sequence of these reports, which would tell the story of each private library from the beginning of its formation. Fortunately, however, there are some cases in which documents have been found which testify two different moments of the collection: one, while the owner was alive, and two, at the moment of his death.

Another very different aspect is the authority or power of the Inquisition over institutional libraries. In regard to this, our investigation has brought to light the considerable interest shown by the inquisitorial examiners in this area. In the AGN, we found a significant number of authorizations granted to different priests to expurgate these libraries. A cleansing which was supposed to erase

... in such a way that it cannot be read, and on the first page of the expurged book a signed note, which says, by commission of the Holy Office and according to the expurgatoy of the year seven this Book was expurged in such month and year: And the books that are prohibited *in totum* will be sent for submission to the Court of the Holy Office.<sup>25</sup>

Most of this document was printed, although there were some sections in manuscript. A general text is printed at the top of the testimony which served to authorize an inspection of a library and, at the bottom, the report of that visit. This document is similar to the one used to authorize the visit to the library of Friar Zamorano, mentioned previously. There is an abundance of documentation testifying to these institutional visits, which could indicate that these inspections were more frequent. This document also allows us to differentiate between a censored book, as a reaction of any reader, and an expurged book with precisely this classification referred to in the inquisitorial authorization.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> "Comisión otorgada a Cristóbal de Torres, para expurgar el Convento de San Francisco en Pachuca, 1716". AGN, Inquisición 763, fol. 171r.

<sup>26</sup> Idalia García, "Posesión libresca: elementos de procedencia novohispana", *Letras Históricas, Revista de la División de Estudios Históricos y Humanos de la Universidad de*

Along with this document authorizing the expurgation, we can find lists of books which were collected and sent to the Inquisitorial Court, either by ecclesiastic province or convent. In addition, the inquisitors mention on more than one occasion in their correspondence the importance of these inspections because of the risk represented by those readers who had authorization to read forbidden books, most of whom were priests. This information confirms that the inquisitors could only gain access to a private collection through denouncement or proven suspicion of a forbidden book. They were dependent, therefore, on the effect of fear on a reader, a family, neighbors or acquaintances. This fear determined the type of information and the quantity. In the end, on the death of the owner, the inquisitors were able to inspect the collection when the family sold the library and all the other possessions. Few books were passed on from generation to generation.

*Memories of Books: Private Libraries of New Spain*

It is not surprising that among sorcerers, dreamers, bigamists, petitioners and other sinners with much imagination, we can find the documentary records of several private libraries of New Spain. Perhaps for this reason, finding the testimonies of these collections requires a stiff dose of patience in order to deal with the inquisitorial twists and turns found in the General Archive of the Nation of Mexico. This territory is one of the very few inquisitorial courts that have conserved their own archives;<sup>27</sup> thus providing an abundant and detailed documentation with many ramifications to explore, as in the case of the many listings of books that were owned, read, transported, inherited, sold or hidden by the people who came to this land seeking to build a future, as well as those who were born in New Spain. According to some calculations, the topic of books alone occupies “almost a third of the Inquisition Archive,”<sup>28</sup> while the documentation pertaining to the eighteenth century, which has attracted a great deal of attention, seems to be the most abundant. Particularly noteworthy are what are known as the books of the Enlightenment, which include the work of Pérez Marchand, González Casanova, Ramos Soriano and Sánchez

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Guadalajara. N. 3 (Autumn-Winter, 2010), 69–90. Available at <http://www.publicaciones.cucsh.udg.mx/ppperiod/Lhistoricas/pdfs/vol3/4.pdf> [Accessed May 2012].

<sup>27</sup> Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 8.

<sup>28</sup> María Elvira Buelna Serrano, *Proceso inquisitorial contra don Agustín Beven; Coronel de Regimiento de Dragones de México* (México: UAM-Atzacapotzalco, 1987), 23.

Merino, among others. However, we can conclude that “notes on censorship and readers of forbidden books appear dispersed and without interpretation”.<sup>29</sup>

There is no doubt that the inquisitorial intention of the Mexican Court to control prohibited or pernicious literature generated additional documentation of importance, which included the invoices of booksellers to release their merchandise, the announcements of private purchases of books brought in from abroad by certain people, the books or libraries that were transported during a journey, books in possession, books or libraries which were transported from one territory to another for different reasons, and memories or inventories of the libraries of the deceased in accordance with the regulations established in the *Mandates*, previously mentioned.

The sum of these testimonies can be considered as evidence of the readings in New Spain, and at this point, we must stress that these were books which were in the possession of someone at a certain time and therefore the reference is only to books that were available. As Chartier already stated; “it is clear that not every book that has been read is necessarily a book that is possessed”.<sup>30</sup> In the same way, not all the books in a person’s possession are necessarily read; a library might have more mundane or trivial uses than the pursuit of knowledge or the enlightenment of the intellect. Nonetheless, the variety of documentary sources relating to libraries that was found begs to be investigated and clarified. To begin with, we believe it pertinent to use the denomination *library in use* when it is the owner who informs the Inquisition, and the term *library in transit* when the owner notifies the transfer of his books from one city to another, for reasons of health or work. It might seem appropriate to study the acquisition of books within a commercial context; however, when we can relate this information to a specific library, it would be convenient to include that testimony. As we mentioned previously, these libraries can be considered collections in formation, and it would be appropriate, therefore, to consider any collection that has completed a cycle as a private library or complete entity.

This last document, *memory of books*, is of particular interest, as it seems to reflect the social impact of the inquisitorial regulations as a well-established cultural practice; in the form of a social response to a very

<sup>29</sup> Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Censura, libros e Inquisición en el Perú Colonial*, 16.

<sup>30</sup> Roger Chartier, *Lecturas y lectores en la Francia del Antiguo Régim* (México: Instituto Mora, 1982), 38–39.

specific norm because of the implications involved. Testimonies which, as we have pointed out, appear to respond to the power or authority of the Inquisition to inspect both private libraries and commercial bookstores in search of forbidden books. Booksellers and private library owners alike were required to prepare and submit inventories of their books, although evidence from the testimonies conserved indicates that the latter appeared to comply with this mandate more frequently than the former. In both cases the reference always uses the denomination *memory*; therefore we consider its use appropriate, as both documents are clearly distinguishable despite their shared peculiarities. It is important to note that the inquisitorial regulations refer to these documents as lists, memorials or inventories.

We have given preference to the term *memory* because of what it evokes, in particular because the memory is a kind of informal inventory in that it does not have the same legal value as a notarized document. This clarification is confirmed by Nicolás Yrolo, the most renowned scribe of New Spain, and the author of the book entitled *Política de Escrituras (Policies of Legal Writings)*,<sup>31</sup> which was the first printed work in New Spain with the formats for the most frequently used legal documents. The author is correct, of course; the inventory must be prepared and validated by a scribe while the *memory* does not require this. These *memories*, which were found in the inquisitorial archive, were prepared by booksellers or merchants such as the Cueto family; José and Manuel elaborated most of the memories of private book collections and even purchased entire libraries. We have found a list from a bookstore belonging to the Cueto family which appeared to deal with second-hand books, but which was elaborated in the same conditions as those of other booksellers; in other words, with the same characteristics required by the Inquisition in their *Mandates*.

Despite this, the inquisitors seemed to trust in these memories as a means of control, as we have yet to find information indicating otherwise. The process for elaborating a memory varied just a little in the first stage; the relatives had to report the death of their family member and apply for permission to elaborate the memory or request the revision of a previously elaborated memory. In the case of the latter, they would already have hired a person to prepare the memory. On reception of this request, the Inquisition did the customary paperwork and sent an examiner to inspect the *memory*. It is important to take into account that the file comprised

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<sup>31</sup> Nicolás de Yrolo Calar, *La política de escrituras*, María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano (ed.) (México: UNAM, 1996), 275.

only two parts: the letter of application and the *memory* itself, as all the evaluations and inquisitorial decisions were written in the margins of both documents.

If the examiner found any forbidden books during the process, he had to mark them in order to have the family transferred to the *Secret* and have them detained there, and the sale could not take place until the books had been handed over. If no forbidden books were found, the sale of the library was authorized. We can appreciate, therefore, that the books themselves were never taken to the Court, unless expressly required by the inquisitor, and there is no mention of the inquisitor having to go to the houses of the applicants. We have found no evidence that this event ever occurred with greater or less frequency. Nonetheless, the possibility of this action was contemplated by the inquisitors as we can see in the instruction emitted by the Bishop of Ceuta in 1756, the transcript of which we have included here. From this point of view, it is reliable information to a certain degree, as it is quite likely that a few books were hidden and transferred to another place unofficially and discreetly.

These *memories* were prepared by people involved in the sale of second-hand books who knew the interests and costs of the market perfectly. Unfortunately, little is known about these people, although their activities are quite notorious. They were hired to do the job, which probably included all the paperwork required by the Inquisition. In some cases, however, it was the heir who hired the bookseller or merchant to prepare the memory and organize the sale of the book collection, while he himself, as legal executor or heir, dealt with the Inquisition.

With respect to the memories, one important point requires clarification. Due to a diversity of historical reasons, the historical files conserved in the AGN have been greatly dispersed. As a direct result of this unfortunate process, these files containing the memories of the books of New Spain have been separated into different parts, making the differentiation of these testimonies even more important. Therefore, we use the denomination *announcement* when we find only the letter mentioning the submission of a memory, whether it was elaborated by a bookseller, executor or heir. In this case the list of books has been lost or cannot be found. We use the term *library* when we find the list of books of the deceased and when this corresponds to a particular letter of application, as this can be compared to the list of books included in the *post mortem* inventories. A few of these are also kept in the AGN, but the majority of the files are from the Court of Deceased, and a small minority of documents are legal procedures of patrimonial succession which had problems of some kind within

the framework of ordinary justice. The regular *post mortem* inventories can be found in the General Archive of Notaries in Mexico City.

Because of this situation, we find a set of *announcements* which undoubtedly testify to the existence of a Colonial library, but we are unable to find out which books were included in the collection. Inversely, we can also locate a set of *memories*, but we cannot find out who they belonged to because the documents do not contain this information. On the other hand, we have also found *memories* which do identify the deceased owner, but which are not accompanied by any other documents. These are recorded as libraries in the same way as the complete files we referred to previously. Finally, only in one fortunate case did we find the *announcement* in one file and the corresponding *memory* in another. As for the other files, some of them are a little disordered, but they are complete.

In this investigation, most of the private libraries we have located are from the eighteenth century. As was mentioned before, this can be explained by the fact that the interest of historical investigation has focused more on forbidden books of the Age of Enlightenment rather than the location of the lists of books from the Colonial period, which is why the different legal procedures have not been differentiated, and in consequence, not all the types of documents containing information on books in the possession of private citizens have been identified or characterized. The conditions of the archive, therefore, are a consequence of the same lack of knowledge. Personally, we are convinced that we will be able to find more libraries of the eighteenth century, although it will take some time.

In the context of books, the inquisitorial activity that began in the second half of the sixteenth century undoubtedly affected several printers, book dealers and book owners, such as Pedro Ocharte or Cornelio Adriano César, among others. At a later date, in the seventeenth century, the most famous case regarding libraries was that of the builder Melchor Perez de Soto. This was the most notorious case among inquisitorial trials relating to books, although Melchor was not actually accused of possessing books, but of having made heretic proposals. He died in prison, assassinated by another prisoner who apparently lost his mind.

If, in addition to this collection, we take into consideration the libraries of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz or Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, the corresponding memories of which have not yet been found, we can assume with even greater certainty the existence of other outstanding libraries (large or small) during the fascinating century of Novohispanic Baroque and not only in the Age of Enlightenment.



The memories we have referred to, which form part of an ongoing investigation, possess certain peculiarities that allow us to classify them into three different types. In the first type, we find those which contain a record of the books with more complete data which facilitates the identification of most of the editions. For example, we can find data such as: "Roselis (Feliciano) de Censibus. Madrid year of 1609".<sup>32</sup>

In the second case, on the other hand, very little information was recorded about the editions. However, both types of documents are considered formally as *memories* of books, and correspond to the *post mortem* inventories used for investigation in other countries. They also share that "scarcity of information" that has been mentioned by several researchers of those sources. We refer to data such as the following: 'Cartilla de Cirujanos' (Surgeon's Ledger).<sup>33</sup> This type of listings was elaborated by the most experienced booksellers in second-hand books. From the abbreviations used, we can assume that they shared a code of interpretation for the principal books in circulation at the time.

The third characteristic we can find in the previous two categories is the appraisal of objects, which was a logical procedure, since the objective of these memories was to obtain the authorization of the inquisitors to proceed with the sale of the book collection. With this, we can identify when an appraisal has been carried out and when not. In these cases, one can actually recognize the intervention of a bookseller who knows his market. For example, "Primer sobre el Derecho Canonico. impresion Augustas en 1709 [7 pesos]".<sup>34</sup> In this list in particular, we can appreciate the manner in which the papers and manuscripts were recorded. These documents were often included in the memories, indicating the permanency of the manuscripts in comparison with printed documents, since the former permitted many textual changes due to their form of production. However, many authors found these modifications all but incomprehensible and expressed their discontent to this effect, particularly the playwrights.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> "Nomina de los libros avaluados por muerte del señor Dionisio de la Rocha". AGN, Inquisición 1100, fol. 214r.

<sup>33</sup> "Lista de los libros del difunto, don Bartolomé Barrientos y Cervantes, canónigo penitenciario, 1797". AGN, Inquisición 1325, exp. 7, Fol. 7v.

<sup>34</sup> "Autos fechos de pedimento del Señor Don Miguel Calixto de Acado del Consejo de su Magestad su Oydor en esta Real Audiencia sobre que se declaren por Inventarios Jurídicos del Señor Domingo Arangoiti del mismo Consejo las memorias que presenta" AGN, Intestados, Vol. 48, exp. 2, fol. 307r-406r.

<sup>35</sup> Ubaldo Cerezo Rubio, "Leyendo comedias", in *Senderos de ilusión: lecturas populares en Europa y América Latina, del siglo XVI a nuestros días*, Antonio Castillo Gómez (dir), (Gijón: Trea, 2007) 41-59.

The appraisals give us a special insight into the type of books in possession at a specific time, and the circulation of editions, as well as the cultural and commercial valuation of an age. This information also allows us to analyze the evolution of prices in the book market. For example, we can demythicize the idea that books were always very expensive for the people of New Spain. This was not always so; occasionally a certain type of book went up in price while another became cheaper. Furthermore, the objective of the appraisal was to inform possible buyers of the minimum price to offer, and on other occasions, the starting price for a public auction. This also explains how it was possible to acquire books without investing too much money, and how these books, despite their age, continued to be used until their condition made it virtually impossible. An interesting aspect of some memories are the descriptions relating to the state of conservation or the binding of the book; information which allows us to appreciate the different ways of evaluating a bibliographic object.

Another rarely mentioned but interesting detail that has come to light during our work with these memories is that the deceased with permission to possess forbidden books were required to prepare two memories; one which reported the forbidden books and another which recorded all the other books in the library. In this way, the Inquisition was able to control prohibited readings in circulation among the group of registered or authorized readers. The fact that these books were accessible to society was a constant concern because the inquisitors knew that books were often lent among readers, more so among certain groups, and this could give rise to dangerous possibilities.

The inquisitorial system of control which had been designed was almost perfect; however, it must have had some flaws as the circulation of books that could be considered inconvenient was quite common. Thus their concern for the permissions for prohibited readings which were extended to individuals outside ecclesiastic circles, such as members of the nobility of New Spain. We should remember that these permissions could only be authorized by the General Inquisitor himself and no one else. These readers of forbidden books generated much concern and their collections were carefully monitored. For example, two or more examiners participated in the inspection of their libraries while in other cases it was usually just one.

Another case worthy of mention is the memory elaborated by the Inquisition for its own library in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately the document does not clarify if it was the library used by the inquisitors to do their work or if it was the collection comprising the forbidden books

they had confiscated. The flaws in the inquisitorial system, however, were soon felt within the institution. In 1716, while maintenance work was being done on the structure of the *Secreto*, forbidden books that had been stored there were sold as waste paper. Such a terrible event called for a meticulous investigation, after which nothing more was ever heard of it again. However, there are some reports to the effect that a similar incident occurred in 1760. Historical evidence, such as the mark of fire, a kind of testimony of origin, testifies to the existence of a library of the Inquisition. Regarding this, we found only one note in 1659 and only one book with the mark of fire.

These cases, European chronicles, the inquisitors' protocols in response to the publication of edicts and Indexes, in conjunction with the constant threats, all promoted an understandable fear of books in society, and also influenced part of daily life. For example, although the frequency of some memories of the most important booksellers in the city has not been conserved over the years, this could indicate a willingness to comply with the norm, particularly in the details of the records. On the other hand, the enormous number of books introduced by important merchants of Mexico City such as Tomás de Acha, and the existence of less formal commercial networks of books,<sup>36</sup> give testimony to an important market and many possibilities for readers and anyone interested in these objects. Readers who were willing to confess to certain literary passions, though many others were silenced even for history.

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<sup>36</sup> Idalia García and Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros, "Una vida entre cajones de libros: Felipe Pérez del Campo en la Nueva España", in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, vol. 43 (July-December 2010), 51–107. Available at <http://www.historicas.unam.mx/publicaciones/revistas/novohispana/pdf/novo43/523.pdf> [Accessed May 2012].



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *ARTEM QVAEVIS TERRA ALIT: BOOKS IN THE CAPE COLONY DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES\**

Adrien Delmas

In his founding study on the circulation of books in the American possessions of the Spanish Crown during the sixteenth century, Irving Leonard tried to invalidate the 'black legend' concerning the Spaniards, on the basis of the books conquistadors carried in their luggage:

This account of the often denied circulation of books and ideas in vice-regal Hispanic America, added to the investigation of others, may help to demonstrate that the true colour of the "legend" was something like, perhaps a light grey.<sup>1</sup>

The parallels between anti-Spanish propaganda at the end of the sixteenth century and anti-Dutch propaganda at the end of the eighteenth century are too many to be ignored. The colony of the Cape of Good Hope was founded in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) when it was at its height. At first this colony was to serve as a simple refreshing post, but it quickly became a colonial settlement after a decision taken in 1657 to allocate land to free settlers, with a view to increasing agricultural production. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the colony expanded inland until the British conquered the country in two phases at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The two black legends—one orchestrated by European countries wanting to establish colonies in America at the end of the sixteenth century, i.e. Holland, France and England in particular, and the other by the British

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\* This article was translated from French by Laurent Chauvet.

<sup>1</sup> Irving Leonard, *Books of the braves, being an account of books and of men in the Spanish conquest and settlement on the 16th century New World* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1949), x.

<sup>2</sup> For a general history of the Cape colony, see among others R. Elphick and H. Gilomee, (eds.), *The shaping of South African society, 1652–1840* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1979); R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle* (New Haven-London: Yale Univ. Press, 1997); Saunders and Davenport, *South Africa, a Modern history*, 5th edition (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000); N. Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); N. Worden, "New Approaches to VOC History in South Africa", *South African Historical Journal*, 59: 1, 2007, 3–18; F.-X Fauvelle Aymar, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Sud* (Paris: Seuil, 2006).

who were gaining a foothold in Southern Africa at the turn of the nineteenth century, echo each other although two centuries apart. The deplorable attitude of the conquistadors and the Boers towards the local populations—the Amerindians on the one hand and the Khoikhoi on the other—is certainly the first of these parallels. In either case, critics could easily swap ‘civilised’ for ‘savage’ and make of Europeans the champions of barbarism. “Perhaps the chief cause of the great depravity of mind found among the distant Boers of the colony, is to be ascribed to the cruelty and contempt with which they are accustomed from their infancy to treat Hottentots” explained Robert Percival, an English traveller who published *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope* in 1804.<sup>3</sup> A second feature shared by both legends concerns the inability to develop a vast territory with strong potential, an argument which was reproached to both the Spaniards in the sixteenth century and the Dutch settlers in the eighteenth century. In either case, the argument had to do with competing colonial powers claiming and wanting to appropriate such territories for themselves with a view to exploiting resources. A third and still more obvious parallel concerns the ‘ignorance’, ‘obscurantism’ and ‘moral degeneration’ affecting Europeans overseas. By definition, conquistadors and Boers were ‘uneducated’. This is such an argument which Irving Leonard intends to challenge by drawing up an inventory of books found in the Spanish colonies to refute the *leyenda negra*.

Such a link between the presence of books and moral dignity is not absent from the black legend of the Boers in South Africa, on the contrary. Many testimonies, from English newcomers in particular, build this bridge between the printing press and civilisation to denounce the deplorable state of the country in this regard. John Barrow, for example, who travelled in the country in 1797 and 1798, and who published *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* in 1801 to convince the British Government not to leave the Cape, after speaking of the gullibility and savagery of the Dutch settlers, commented on the lack of printing press:

There never perhaps were a set of men so void of resources in overcoming difficulties as the Dutch farmers of the Cape. The inanity of mind and the indolent habit of the body are not even surmounted by self-interest. Their ignorance cannot be a matter of wonder, but we often find in Europe unlettered men possessed of great talents and ingenuity. No printing press has yet found its way to the Cape of Good Hope, except a small for cards or hand-bills.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> R. Percival, *An account of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Baldwin, 1804), 222.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 377. The press referred to here is that of a Johaan Christiaan Ritter.

In the same vein, Lady Anne Barnard, a young English aristocrat at the service of the British Governor between 1797 and 1802 was, like Barrow, an accurate witness of social life at the end of the century in that part of the world. In a letter addressed to Lord Macartney, she also regrets the fact that very little is done about "the art of reading" at the Cape of Good Hope and the desuetude of available books.<sup>5</sup> Percival, always more virulent than Barrow, also made of the lack of books and printing press one of his main anti-Boer arguments:

Their ignorance is great; and education is equally unknown to the Boers of the Cape and Graaff Reinet.<sup>6</sup> No books, but a Bible and hymn book, are to be found amongst them; no printing-press is established here.<sup>7</sup>

The correlation between books and civilisation was not pointed out solely by English newcomers. In a report on the state of the country commissioned by the Batavian Republic, which took over the control of the Cape for a few years between 1803 and 1808, Jacob Abraham de Mist insisted heavily on the regrettable absence of a printing press in the Colony, drawing up a last parallel between civilisation and books, before it was finally introduced in Southern Africa by evangelical missions during the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, we feel it incumbent upon ourselves to endorse strongly the recommendations made by the Commissioners-General, to the effect that a Printing Establishment should be introduced at Cape Town. There is no denying that it would be of universal benefit to the community. It would

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<sup>5</sup> Letter from Lady Anne Barnard to Lord Macartney, in Dorothea Faibridge, *Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 24.

<sup>6</sup> Graaff Reinet was the last colony (*buitenpost*) founded by the VOC in Southern Africa in 1786.

<sup>7</sup> Percival, *An account*, 230. Barrow explained: "If the condition of man was to be estimated entirely by the means it possessed of supplying any abundance, or preventing a scarcity, of the necessary articles of life (...) the European colonists of the Cape of Good Hope might be pronounced amongst the happiest of men. But as all the pleasures of this world are attended with evils, like roses placed on stems of plenty unknown in other countries, can scarcely be considered as objects of envy. Debarred from every mental pleasure arising from the perusal of books or the frequent conversation of friends, each succeeding day is a repetition of the past, whose irksome sameness is varied only by the accidental call of a traveller, the less welcome visits of the Bosjesmans, or the terror of being put to death by their own slaves, or the Hottentots in their employ." Barrow, *op. cit.*, 385–386.

<sup>8</sup> See Anna H. Smith, *The spread of Printing: South Africa* (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1971). On the missions, see H. Bredekamp and R. Ross, *Missions and Christianity in South African History* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995); R. Elphick and R. Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997); J. and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Fauvelle Aymar, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Sud*.

ensure the more rapid and efficient, and less expensive circulation of Government proclamations throughout the country districts, where the farmers are scattered hours apart from each other. It would act as a strong incentive to these farmers to learn to read these notices. The misuse of the printing press could be obviated if it were placed under Government supervision ... The establishment of a printing press would also serve as an antidote against rebellion and ignorance, especially in a country where the aids to moral enlightenment and civilisation are so difficult to apply.<sup>9</sup>

By showing that the absence of a printing press in the Cape colony did not mean the absence of books between 1652 and 1795, we do not intend, as Leonard did for the American case, to refute the black legend which has affected the Boers of the Cape of Good Hope since the arrival of the British. Instead, the sole objective of this article is to give a general idea on the availability of books in the Cape colony, so as to question VOC policy in this regard.

### *Absence of Press, Presence of Books*

On the 13 August 1743, the *Hollandia*, a brand new VOC ship, was wrecked off the coast of England on its way to Batavia. On board was a complete set of Latin and Malay alphabet printing types. The types showed up in 1971, after a team of sub-marine archaeologists drew up a detailed list of the ship's remains, which has been lying on the sea floor for over two centuries.<sup>10</sup> Following the news of the sinking ship, that same year another set of printing types was sent to Batavia.<sup>11</sup> It was time to replace the types that had been used in the Dutch East Indies capital city since the second half of the seventeenth century. On the 15 July 1669, the Directors of the VOC had indeed decided to send all the instruments required to establish a press for the purpose of the Council of India in Batavia.<sup>12</sup> The press was then used to print mainly official documents such as the Council's resolutions, compilations of laws or other edicts, as well as a few books, dictionaries and bibles which, remarkably, had been printed in Malay, the *lingua*

<sup>9</sup> Jacob Abraham de Mist, *Memorandum, Containing Recommendations for the Form and Administration of Government at the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, 1920), 203.

<sup>10</sup> J. Gawronski, B. Kist and O. van Boetzelaer, *Hollandia Compendium. A contribution to the History, Archaeology, Classification and Lexicography of a 150 ft. Dutch East Indiaman (1740–1750)* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> See K. Smith Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies to 1850: Batavia*, vol. 1 (New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> Algemeen Rijksarchief, VOC, Resolution of 15 July 1669.



*franca* of the Indonesian archipelago. In Ceylon which was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1658, a printing press was established in 1737, and Tamil as well as Singhalese print types were also used to print dictionaries and bibles in local languages for the purpose of missionaries above all, in addition to official documents.<sup>13</sup>

But for the Cape colony, nothing! or at least until the end of the eighteenth century. For an entire century and a half, the African colony of the VOC had been deprived of a printing press, and everyone at the time—from VOC officials to settlers—had to learn to do without the precious instrument. In 1779, the Boers, slightly revolted, transmitted a petition to the Directors of the VOC with grievances and claims, which many consider as a central piece of Boer patriotism. Article 7 of the petition proposed the installation of a printing press which would lead to the broadcasting of the news and laws of the colony to most settlers spread inland, hundreds of kilometres apart.<sup>14</sup> During the following years, several Governors gave their support to this request, changing the argument. The idea was to facilitate all the copying work that, with time, had become increasingly fastidious and costly, mobilising an increasing number of people. The local authorities specified also that the printing press would need to be kept inside the fort with a view to controlling the potentially seditious instrument.<sup>15</sup> After many refusals from the Directors of the VOC who, on several occasions, replied that the printed material required for the governance of the Cape colony could be printed in Holland and sent to the Cape, the request from the African colony was finally going to succeed when the British invasion of the Cape colony occurred in 1795. Nonetheless, the absence of press in the Colony under the domination of the VOC did not mean the absence of books, which begs the following question: If no books were printed in the Cape colony during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, how does one explain their presence in the Cape? And before that, what kind of books could be found, in what numbers, in what hands and on the shelves of which libraries?

The very first books list ever drawn up at the Cape was carried out on the 8 January 1661 by *Secunde* and member of the Political Council, Roeloff de Man, at the request of the Governor and Founder of the colony, Jan van

<sup>13</sup> See J. Landewher, *VOC: A Bibliography of Publications Relating to the Dutch East India Company, 1602–1800* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> C. Beyers, *Die Kaapse Patriotte, 1779–1991* (Cape Town: Juta, 1930), 28. See also A. Du Toit and H. Giliomee, *Afrikaner Political Thought* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1983), 253.

<sup>15</sup> A.J. Böeseken, "Die Nederlandse Kommissaris en die 18de Euse Samelewing aan die Kaap", *Archives Year Book for South Africa History*, vol. 7, 1944, 135.

Riebeeck. Among other effects, the inventory mentioned around twenty books which had been categorised, as was then done, by format. The inventory was sent a few days later with other documents to the Directors of the VOC in Amsterdam:

#### FOLIANTEN

Johannis Eusebius Nierembergi: Historia naturae maxime perigrinae  
 Carolij Clussj atrebatis Exoticorum Librij december Geaorge Agricolae Kempricensis  
 medici ac Philosophj claris de Re metallica Librij.2  
 Johannis Keplerj Harmonicus Mundi Librij V  
 Ciprianj Leovitj Calculus Ephemeridium 51 annorum numeratus ad meridiaenum  
 Plantarum historia clusij librij 1,2,3,4,5,6  
 Cruijtboeck van Rembertus Dodonaeus.  
 Architectura van Hendrick de Keijser  
 Architectura van Jacob Barrozzio

#### QUARTO

Begin ande voortgang van de Ver-eenigde Nederlantsche g'octrojjeerde Oos-Indische  
 Cmope. Eerst en tweede deel. In twee Volumen.  
 Astronomie van Dirck Rembrants van Nerop.  
 Johannis de Monte Regio Astrologia.  
 Bartholomaej Petiscj Trigonometria Libri Quinque.  
 Almanack perpetus  
 Adriani metj Doctrina Sphericae.  
 Marcus Vetruvius Pollio de Architectura Librij 10.  
 M. Johannis Stierij Praecepta Doctrina Sphericae.  
 Grammatica Arabica Thomae Erpenij.  
 Alexandej Picolhominej de Spherica Lirij quatuor.

#### OCTAVO

P. Jarricj rerum Indicarum Partes 3.  
 Anselmj boetj Historia Gemmarum et lapidum.<sup>16</sup>

### *The Usefulness of Books*

Considering this list, one could wonder about the absence of devotional books. Ecclesiastical works and, above all, the Bible, were unavoidable books in any library, whether on board ships, in the VOC buildings or in private libraries. Yet, on this list which can be considered as the official fort library index, there is not a single book with a devotional theme, whether on reformed religion or not. Psalms and other publications were found in the chapel where ministers officiated every week. One can also

<sup>16</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Dispatched from the Cape 1652–1662* (Cape Town: W.A. Richard, 1900), vol. III, 449–450.

notice that all the works in the fort library had an obvious practical dimension and this is the first thing we would like to highlight: the pragmatic, utilitarian and immediate dimension of the books circulating within the framework of the VOC. Books on mathematics, trigonometry as well as architecture were often needed; the doctrines of the sphere and other books on astronomy were also used for navigation; the presence of a book on Arabic grammar should not come as a surprise when considering that trading on the entire East coast of Africa was carried out in this language, and that many ships were sent from the Cape to trade there; as to botanical works, it is very easy to imagine their usefulness for a trading post that was meant to supply passing ships with water, meat and fresh produce. Finally and especially, the usefulness of the Dutch travelogues published by Isaac Commelin in 1646,<sup>17</sup> and that of the history of the East Indies by Pierre du Jarric is obvious.<sup>18</sup> It is not difficult to understand how profitable these works could be for Europeans in charge of establishing a permanent station at the Southern tip of Africa. Of course, a history written by a Jesuit Father found in the trunks of Dutch Protestants could be surprising, but the fact is that as far as information is concerned, anything goes. In his first letter addressed to the Council of India in Batavia in 1652, Jan van Riebeeck ordered a work on Mauritius which is not in the previous list.<sup>19</sup> Just as he was about to leave the Cape, van Riebeeck did not forget to mention a legacy of printed works, together with manuscripts, to his successor:

The charts and notes of the travellers, &c., as well as those of the lands, the fort, the gardens and coasts here, are all in their places in the office here, properly indexed, as well as all other books and manuscripts, and left in your custody.<sup>20</sup>

The question could almost be turned the other way around: were these books sufficient or were there other works in Europe which could have been useful for a permanent settlement in the Cape colony? In this regard, where is, for example, that very useful encyclopaedia entitled *Itinerario* by Linschoten which helped the first Dutch fleets in the Indian Ocean and serve as the guide for the first expeditions inland launched from the Cape

<sup>17</sup> I. Commelin, *Begin ende voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Amsterdam: Jan Jansz, 1645).

<sup>18</sup> P. du Jarric, *Thesaurus rerum indicarum* (Coloniae Agrippinae: P. Henningii, 1615).

<sup>19</sup> Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*, I, lettre dated 13 May 1652 to Batavia.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 244.

of Good Hope<sup>21</sup>? Not only did *Second* Roeloff de Man had access to all the books kept in the fort, but he was also the owner of a private collection. His books were auctioned off in 1663, shortly after his death. Among various personal belongings, Roeloff de Man had left around twenty books, as follows:

1 Bybel met goude cant geborduert ; 1 cleyn testamentje; 1 reysbouck; 1 duytsche chronyck; 1 bouck genaemt Jan Huygen van Linschoten ; de gedenckwaerdige spreucken van baudartius ; damhouder civil en Crimineel ; de keyserlycke wetten, de hollantse papegaey ; Corpus juris in't duyts ; de sweetse soldaet in twee deelen de beroerde oceaeen, de gulden annotatien van heermans ; de batavische arcadie, de weghwijser van Italien, de persiaense rosegaert ; de bescherminghe des levens ; de winterse avonden ; de romeynschen adelaer, secrets mostaerts Zentbrieven ; 't heilighdom voor een benoude Ziele.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to testifying to the fact that Linschoten's *Itinerario* was indeed present in the Cape colony at the time, this list also inaugurates the most well-known method of acquiring books in the Cape of Good Hope, i.e. public auctions following someone's death. Auctions were carried out under the aegis of the Orphan Chamber founded in 1673 in Cape Town, based on the model of the Chamber of Batavia which had been in place since 1624. This institution was in charge of administering the assets of deceased people whose heirs were either too young, not specified in the will of the deceased or, and this was frequently the case, absent from the colony. The Chamber drew up systematic inventories of the assets before selling these during public auctions. As such, *post mortem* registers on the one hand and auction reports on the other make it possible to keep track of books in the Cape colony.

### *Cape Libraries*

Based on these two series of archives,<sup>23</sup> it is possible to reconstruct a minimum list of works present in the colony, aggregating lists containing the titles of works found in *post mortem* inventories. As a first example, the inventory of the *siekentrooster* (chaplain) named Jan Joris Graan van

<sup>21</sup> See Adrien Delmas, "L'*Itinerario* de J. H. van Linschoten, ou l'histoire d'un divorce entre le livre et la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales (VOC), 1595–1619", *Quaerendo*, (2012), 42, 1.

<sup>22</sup> ARA, VOC, 3975, in D.B. Bosman, "De eerst boekveiling aan die Kaap- en nog wat", *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* (QBNLSA), 4, 1947, 96–98.

<sup>23</sup> Cape Town Archives Depository (CTAD), MOOC 8 and MOOC 10.

Enckhuizen, drawn up in 1665, lists around fifty titles, devotional books for most.<sup>24</sup> This inventory is symptomatic of a tendency which was prevalent until the end of the eighteenth Century, i.e. the predominance of religious works, among which bibles, sermons and other exegeses. Generally, *predikanten* and, to a lesser extent, *siekentrooster* who, due to their religious offices, represented the educated and learned elite of the VOC, were not only owners of books but also the most important intermediaries for the presence of printed works in the colony.<sup>25</sup> But while theology is the most represented category, travel accounts are never far behind, including in the collections of clergymen. In 1675, the inventory of Reformed Church officer Albert van Breugel included many works on history and geography.<sup>26</sup> Works as recent as the *Description of Japan* by François Caron,<sup>27</sup> *Malabar and Ceylon* by Philippe Baldeus,<sup>28</sup> and *Ambon* by Livinus Bor, are found together with descriptions from the previous century, such as the Dutch translation of the *History of the great kingdom of China* by Gonzáles de Mendoza.<sup>29</sup> This inventory also makes it possible to confirm the international success of Don Quixote whose readers were not just found in Europe,<sup>30</sup> and the Americas,<sup>31</sup> but also in the Cape colony from the seventeenth century onwards.

Except for the short list of works of G. Meijhuijsen<sup>32</sup> and the order placed by Willem Adriaan van der Stel for six works in 1700,<sup>33</sup> that is all for the seventeenth century. Hendricus Munkerus, at first an assistant merchant then a member of the Political Council, died in 1705.<sup>34</sup> Among his effects were over fifty-five books, many of them on law, with the works of

<sup>24</sup> CTAD, Cape Deeds register, Transporten en Schepenkenissen, 1662–1665.

<sup>25</sup> See G.J. Schutte (ed.), *Het Indisch Sion: De Gereformeerde Kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> CTAD, MOOC 23/5 n°35.

<sup>27</sup> F. Caron, *Beschreibung van het machtigh coninckrijcke Japan* (Amsterdam: J. Hartgers, 1648).

<sup>28</sup> P. Baldeus, *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, Der Zelfver aangrenzende Ryken, En het machtige Eyland Ceylon. Nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* (Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonneus van Waasberge, 1671).

<sup>29</sup> J.G. Mendoza, *De historie ofte beschrijvinghe van het groote rijk van China* (Amsterdam: Claesz, 1595).

<sup>30</sup> Voir Roger Chartier, *Inscrire et effacer* (Paris: Gallimard/Seuil, 2005), 53–77.

<sup>31</sup> F. Rodríguez Marín, *El Quijote y Don Quijote en América* (Madrid: Librería de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1911); Irving Leonard, *Books of the braves*, 281–299.

<sup>32</sup> CTAD, MOOC 10/1.9.

<sup>33</sup> A.J. Böeseken, *Simon van der Stel en sy Kinders* (Cape Town: Nasou, 1964), 157–159.

<sup>34</sup> CTAD, MOOC 8/2.8.

Hugo Grotius in particular, as well as on poetry and literature and, as always, geography. His personal atlas was made up of some 156 maps. Among other remarkable collections in the Cape colony, that of Engela Breda in 1718,<sup>35</sup> with around twenty titles among which we will only mention Bontekoe's best-seller,<sup>36</sup> and that of Willem Roukens in 1733, with 74 titles.<sup>37</sup> Famous travel accounts, like that of Thomas Cage in the Spanish West Indies were such a popular reading that we could call us the overseas 'newspaper'.<sup>38</sup>

Having said this, there is no doubt that the most important bibliophile in the whole of the Cape colony was Joachim von Dessin. Some have said about him that he was an avant-gardist, others a compulsive collector.<sup>39</sup> Born in Rostock, Germany, in 1704, he joined the Cape colony in 1727 under unclear conditions. Since he came from lower Prussian aristocracy, many think that his arrival at the Cape as a mere soldier in the service of the VOC, a position usually occupied by young men from the poorer sections of the population, was due to an unfortunate event such as a dual or a dispute obliging him to leave Europe. However, once at the Cape, it was not long before he made the most of his education and, in 1728, became the secretary of the *Raad von Justice*, then that of the Orphan Chamber. This position was most advantageous for him in that he was able to accumulate many books and increase his collection. As shown by his testament, he was very grateful for the quality of life offered by the colony.<sup>40</sup>

Being present at all auctions,<sup>41</sup> he acquired a reputation which even lasted in the following century, as a man who was particularly gifted for obtaining books at a low price.<sup>42</sup> W.W. Bird for example tells of when von Dessin obtained many works in 1755, when the colony was struck by a new

<sup>35</sup> CTAD, MOOC 8/3.92.

<sup>36</sup> W.Y. Bontekoe, *Iovraael ofte gedenckwaerdige beschrijvinghe vande Oost-Indische reyse van Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe* (Hoorn: Deutel, 1646).

<sup>37</sup> CTAD, MOOC 8/75.47.

<sup>38</sup> T. Cage, *Nieuwe ende seer naeuwkeurige reyse door de Spaensche West-Indien* (Utrecht: J. Ribbuis, 1682).

<sup>39</sup> The most documented bibliographic portrait remains that of J.L.M. Franken, "n Kaapse Huishoue in die 18de eeu", *Archives Year Book for South African History*, 3rd year, Part 1, 1940; see also D.H. Varley, "Joachim von Dessin and his book collection", QBNLSA, 16 (1), 1961, p. 8–21.

<sup>40</sup> National Library of South Africa, Cape Town Campus, Collection von Dessin, Mss. 763.

<sup>41</sup> CTAD, MOOC10/4.112; MOOC10/5.22; MOOC10/5.57 ½; MOOC10/5.68; MOOC10/5.73.

<sup>42</sup> R.F.M. Immelman, "Joachim von Dessin: Die man en sy boekery", *The South African Library, 1818–1968* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1968), 15–34.

devastating smallpox epidemic, a time when no one was concerned about books.<sup>43</sup> Several works in his collection bear the *ex libris* of their former owners among whom, to name only the most famous ones, Adam Tas and J.C. Grevenbroek whom we will discuss later. This confirms that a large part of his collection was constituted *in situ*. However, auctions were not the only means by which to acquire books. In *Le traité de la paix de l'âme* by Pierre du Moulin, which is part of his collection, a handwritten note in French on the first page specifies its origin: "For Mr P. Meijer. This book was sent to me by Mr Jean de Quaux residing in Amsterdam. I received them via the Captain of the ship named den Bergh, which arrived in the harbour of the Cape of Good Hope on the 29th of April 1713, written by me, P. Meijer". In other words, like P. Meijer, von Dessin used to order books directly from Europe to fill his library. To this end, he had regular intermediaries with whom he maintained a correspondence dedicated exclusively to the acquisition of books. As such, Nicolas Pille sent him many law books, and Daniel Pels, the Director of the Latin School of Amsterdam, became after 1744 his most prolific supplier. Through their correspondence, one can recount the regular expedition of books and journals such as the *Europische Mercurius* or the *Boekzaal van Europa*, through which he kept himself informed about the latest publications.<sup>44</sup> It seems that, to acquire books, von Dessin also resorted to more surprising means. On several occasions he asked many officials who stopped over in Table Bay to send him specific books in compensation for the accommodation he offered them on his property at the Cape. He even got used to exchanging books for food, taking advantage of exhausting sailing trips. After all, the Cape was a stopping-off place where debts were continually being incurred and reimbursed, and books were part of them.

In just over three decades, Joachim von Dessin succeeded in accumulating several thousands of books. Over half of them are theology and history. There were books on the VOC, as with those of Linschoten, Caron, Dapper, Baldeus, de Graaf and Valentijn,<sup>45</sup> works on British (Knox and

<sup>43</sup> W.W. Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London: J. Murray, 1823), 151–152.

<sup>44</sup> J.L.M. Franken, "n Kaapse Huishoue in die 18de eeu", 69–70.

<sup>45</sup> Linschoten, *Itinerarium, of Schipvaart na Oost of Portugals Indien* (Amsterdam: Cloppenburg, 1623); O. Dapper, *Naauwkeurige beschryving van Azie* (Amsterdam: J. van Meurs, 1680); N. De Graaf, *Reizen naar Asia, Africa, en America* (Hoorn: F. Rijk, 1704); F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën, vervattende een naauwkeurige en uitvoerige verhandelinge van Nederlands mogentheyd* (Amsterdam: J. van Braam, 1724–1726).

Dampier) and French (Tachard, Lafitau's work on *Les Mœurs des sauvages américains* and Prévost's *Histoire générale des voyages*) travels. The Spanish tyrannies written about by de las Casas also found their way to the Cape, as did *The description of the Cape* by Peter Kolb, in the Dutch version of 1727. Moreover, the works of Grotius, found in many Latin and Dutch publications among the three hundred law books available in the collection, show the predominance of the famous Dutch lawyer's thoughts in the colony. An examination of the library of the Council of Justice, of which the first inventory was made in 1710, would confirm this.<sup>46</sup> While the *Arts of Navigation* by Medina or other writers remind us that the Cape was above all a port of call for ships,<sup>47</sup> the major theological debates which took place at the turn of the eighteenth century in the Netherlands, found their representatives in von Dessin's collection, with the complete and antagonistic works of Voetius and Coeccijs. Next to the hundreds of sermons and psalms, the complete works of Descartes in Latin, Bekker's theological works inspired mainly from Spinozist philosophy,<sup>48</sup> and Hobbes' Dutch translation, appear of course as polemic works. Finally, a place by no means insignificant was reserved for the Classics. Aristotle, Tacitus, Scipio, Livy, Cicero and Seneca are all found in Latin. In this regard, more than half of the works in the collection are in Dutch—the only language authorised in the colony—and only Latin (through the theological books) competes with it. Nonetheless, one still finds books in French and German. Those in Spanish and English can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Finally, dictionaries and other lexicons on oriental languages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ordered directly by the VOC are found here and there, throughout the collection.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The inventory of the library of the Council of Justice carried out in 1727, counts eleven books. In the next inventories dated 1739, 1743, 1756, 1786, 1788 and 1793, Grotius is still the most represented author. In fact, the use of Grotius' *Introduction to Dutch Law* is found as late as 1966 in South Africa. See Robert Feenstra, "L'influence de la pensée juridique de Grotius", *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1983), 141. Concerning the library of the Court of Justice, see J.T. Smidt, *Old law books from the libraries of the 'Raad van Justitie' and J.N van Dessin* (Leiden: Grafaria, 1998).

<sup>47</sup> P. Medina, *L'Art de naviguer*, 1677; D.R. Van Nierop, *Onderwys der zeevaart* (Amsterdam: G. van Goedesbergh, 1683); R. Rougard, *Le petit flambeau de la mer: ou le véritable guide des pilotes côtiers* (Paris, Gruchet, 1684).

<sup>48</sup> Bekker's book is mentioned by Adam Tas, see note 68.

<sup>49</sup> For example, we find "Een Boek geschreven in de Chinasche Taal", a *Biblia Malaica* from 1733, *De Psalter in de Maleysche en Nederlandsche taal*, 1689 and the dictionary of F. Gueynier, *Vocabulaer, ofte woorden-boeck in't Duytsh ende Maleys* (Batavia: A. van den Eede, 1677).



Beyond its quantitative importance, von Dessin's collection also marked a turning point as regards accessibility of books in the colony. As indicated in his will where he reiterated his gratitude to his new homeland, he had intended his collection to fill a public library. Thus, on his death in 1761, he bequeathed 3,856 books to the Dutch Reformed Church, specifying:

My will is that the donations to which I refer above can lead to the establishment of a public library, for the benefit of the greatest number of people, complemented by the acquisition of new books each year, from every faculty and place of learning, offering knowledge which can flow freely.<sup>50</sup>

In accordance with his will, the collection would be regularly increased with new acquisitions financed through the interests earned from a donation of 1 000 rixdollars which he added to his bequest. Accessible to all, his collection became a public library *avant la lettre*. This contributed greatly to the admiration he caused for generations of historians in South Africa. As early as 1762, a 'very beautiful' building, according to French traveller Louis Granpré,<sup>51</sup> was erected with the blessing and financial help of the Political Council to receive von Dessin's thousands of books, just outside the Reformed Church in town, across from the *Heerengracht*.<sup>52</sup> There, Reverend Johannes Fredericus Bode, who was appointed official librarian by the Church, welcomed "all respectable citizens between 13:00 and 16:00 every Wednesday afternoon". According to the resolution of 1 October 1764, "the books [could] be borrowed and taken home for one month or for three months for those living outside the city".<sup>53</sup> Jan van Houten, librarian in Amsterdam, was appointed as the official supplier of books. According to the report of de Mist at the beginning of the nineteenth century, 537 volumes were acquired between 1761 and 1804.<sup>54</sup> Von Dessin's

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<sup>50</sup> CTAD, Court of Justice, 2665, n°42. "Mijn intentie ende begeerte is, dat deese mijn hierboven staende vermakinge zal strecken tot een grondslag van een publicque bibliotheecq, ten nute van't alegemeen, met jaarlijxe vermeerderinge van deselve door boeken van alle faculteyten en geleersaamheyd, waardoor een yder in zijne besondere weetenschap zal kunnen werden gediend."

<sup>51</sup> L. Granpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique fait dans les années 1786 et 1787, suivi d'un Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne Espérance, contenant la description militaire de cette colonie* (Paris: Dentu, 1801).

<sup>52</sup> See W.H.P.A. Tyrell Glynn, *An account of some libraries and book collections at the Cape of Good Hope, with special reference to the establishment of the South African Library* (unpublished DLitt dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 1972).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>54</sup> J.A. de Mist, *Memorandum*, 202–203. This figure corresponds more or less to the number of books published after 1761 which appear in the catalogue of the collection compiled in 1821. J.H. von Manager et J.R. Kaufmann, *Catalogue of the Dessinian Collection*, (Cape Town, 1821), 1821.

wish was realised, that “compulsive collector and great booklover” in the words of Karel Schoeman who wondered, perhaps justifiably, whether von Dessin had ever read the books he had so passionately accumulated.<sup>55</sup>

### *Een Partij Boeken*

Thanks to the inventories of titles found in the private collections, it is possible to give a panorama *a minima* of books available in the Cape colony.<sup>56</sup> As useful as this list can be, especially for tracking any peculiar book trajectory, it cannot claim to be exhaustive. Worse still, we cannot even say that it is representative of book ownerships in the colony. The perusal of inventories of goods drawn up by the Orphan Chamber, testifies to the presence of hundreds or even thousands of other books of which we do not know the titles. A significant example is the sale, in 1673, of almost 400 books belonging to the *Fiscaal*, the person in charge of maintaining law and order in the colony. These collections of several hundreds of books became increasingly frequent over time during the eighteenth century. For example, *burger* Hendrick Schreuder owned 200 books when he died in 1714 and, except for his house and slaves, these books, which were worth £300, were his most valuable possession.<sup>57</sup> On the 14 September 1745, no less than 700 books belonging to *predikant* Wilhelm van Gendt were sold during an auction dedicated specially to his books.<sup>58</sup> Von Dessin was in heaven this day: was not van Gendt the pride of the colony for being the very first Cape resident to publish a theological text on a European printing press?<sup>59</sup> For the 1765–1785 period alone, four inventories mention collections of over 300 books and, added up, represent close to 2,000 books. We are referring here to the inventories of Luisa Adriana Slotsboo,<sup>60</sup> Sergius Swellengrebel,<sup>61</sup> Secretary of the Chamber J. Henricus Blackenberg and Maria Colijn.<sup>62</sup> During the same period, more than one dozen inventories counted between 25 and 100 works. In other words, the Cape

<sup>55</sup> Some of his books contain *marginalia* from his own handwriting, which proves that he was actually reading them.

<sup>56</sup> Forthcoming on <http://en.archief.nl/international-cooperation/mutual-cultural-heritage/mutual-cultural-heritage-programme>.

<sup>57</sup> CTAD, MOOC 8/2.114.

<sup>58</sup> CTAD MOOC 10/5.57 ½.

<sup>59</sup> See F.C. Fensham, “Die boekery van Wilhelm van Gendt en Joachim von dessin se versameling”, QBNLSA, 38(4), 1984.

<sup>60</sup> CTAD, MOOC 8/11.26.

<sup>61</sup> CTAD, MOOC 8/12015a.

<sup>62</sup> CTAD, MOOC 8/14.59 and CTAD, MOOC 8/14.30.

colony did not need a printing press to obtain books—and not just a few books, but thousands of them. As a last example, Andreas L. Kolver, the first Lutheran Pastor at the Cape,<sup>63</sup> died in October 1797. Advocate Wagener, with two assistants, drew up an inventory of his assets. It took them over eight days to make an list of the 1,970 books making up his collection.<sup>64</sup>

In most cases, since the first inventories of the 1670s, references made by the Orphan Chamber concerning the possession of books was limited to the following words: “*een partij boeken*”. As imprecise as this allusion could be, i.e. referring to two or three books, a dozen at the most (and among which we inevitably find a Bible), it leads us to conclude rather obviously that the possession of books among Europeans in the Cape colony was not an exception, as was often thought, but was the norm. Should we also conclude that, therefore, everyone in those days was a keen reader? According to Bienwega, between 40% and 50% of Europeans living in the Cape colony could read and write, compared to almost 70% in the United Provinces of the Netherlands during the same time.<sup>65</sup> Compared to the books accumulated by the Cape authorities and stored in the fort, to those of the Reformed Church and those of the Court of Justice, private libraries were small but numerous. Next to one another, they represented, quantitatively, the majority of all publications found in the colony. Out of some 500 inventories drawn up by the Orphan Chamber between 1685 and 1730, no less than 160 include books. When relating this number to that of residents, without hesitation we can conclude that books were part of the daily life of the colony.

One of the rare accounts on everyday life in the Cape colony was that of Adam Tas, a *vrijlandbouwer* who arrived from Amsterdam in 1697, and who played a major role in the dramatic episode, which had subsequently become ‘foundational’ for Afrikaner identity, and during which Cape Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel was opposed to the *vrijburgers*. Tas owned a farm around Stellenbosch and used to write daily. On reading his diary, it becomes clear that regular correspondence was important to maintain contact between the various *buitenposten* which have

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<sup>63</sup> On the establishment of the Lutheran Church in Cape Town, under pressure from German-born settlers in particular, see J. Hoge, “Die Geskiedenis van die Lutherse Kerk aan die Kaap”, *Archives Year Book for South African History* 1/2, (1938), 21–61.

<sup>64</sup> David McLennan, “The forgotten bibliophile: Andreas L. Kolver”, *QBNLSA* 47(4) 1993.

<sup>65</sup> A. Biewenga, “Alfabetisering aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop omstreeks 1700”, *Tydskrif vir Nederlands en Afrikaans*, 3 (1996), 109–121.

accompanied the colony's expansion. Several times a month, Tas used to send and receive letters not just from his family members, but also from other people in the colony. As such, writing was used as a means of communication between local *burgers*.<sup>66</sup> Tas is also a witness to the 'penetration' of books in the 'material landscape' of the Cape settlers. He is also one of the rare witnesses who confirmed the previously described practice of auctions, and the fact that not only Cap residents but also farmers living several kilometres outside town, could be kept informed and participate by proxy in these auctions:

Monday 6 [July 1705] Fine morning. Progress again vine-pruning and delving. To Stellenbosch this morning, and paid Mr Mathieu 2 ½ rixdollars for three books bought by me at the sale of Mr van Loon's books.<sup>67</sup>

Books were thus a commodity with a commercial value, but they could also be exchanged among settlers, as was the *boekzaal*, which reviewed books published in Europe and which circulated freely among settlers.

June 1705: Shortly after midday put in Hans Smith and his good dame; they did send three Hottentots before with some goods, which the said Mr Hans Jacob had brought with him for us yesterday from the Cape. And first he did deliver me a letter from my sister Tas, together with one ream of paper brought over by Mr Frederik Paarn from Mr Ysbrand Vincent, as also the book containing the story of the brothers Cornelis and Jan de Wit, and eleven numbers of the *Boekzaal* lent a time ago to Mr Starrenburg, and thereafter to Mr van Putten. Furthermore, 5 pairs of women's and two pairs of men's stockings were sent us by mother out from the old country, two parcels of powders, the book of sermons by Rev. Balthazar Becker of blessed memory, and a canister with 8 measures of tea.<sup>68</sup>

More interestingly for us, the social link created by regularly writing letters, was also secured by circulating and exchanging printed books. The social function of printed culture found its most successful expression in Bible reading sessions. Most of the Bibles, as shown by von Dessin's collection, were State Bibles, i.e. texts published under the auspices of the States-General of Holland.<sup>69</sup> There again, Tas is the privileged witness of regular collective reading sessions of devotional books, which could act as a substitute for church services. On that Sunday of June 1705, since the Pastor had gone to the Drakensberg and no one was in Stellenbosch to

<sup>66</sup> A. Tas, *The diary of Adam Tas* (London: Longmans, 1914), 19, 25, 49, 79.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>69</sup> See R. Elphick and R. Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, and J. Landewher, *VOC: A Bibliography*.

officiate, Tas decided not to go to Church but, rather, to “spend the day reading and singing Psalms”. “For those who can read, he added, it is a paltry contrivance to walk to church to hear a little reading”.<sup>70</sup> As one moved away from the city, the destiny of books in the colony was becoming increasingly and directly confused with that of the Bible. When missionary George Schmidt asked a family of settlers “How do you manage to live so far away from any church?”, they replied “we are saved by living a pious life and reading books”.<sup>71</sup> Likewise, when James Campbell, a traveller from the end of the eighteenth century, asked a family of settlers what they did on Sundays so far from a church, they replied that they spent their time “reading good books”, which we must understand as devotional books.<sup>72</sup> The religious, family and community dimension of the reading practice is even more visible in the testimony left by Heinrich Lichtenstein who, after travelling inland, reported the following scene:

The day was begun regularly with a psalm being sung, and a chapter from the Bible being read. Not only the children, but all the slaves and Hottentots, were required to attend. In the evenings (...) the whole collective body of people belonging to the house were assembled again (...) A table was next set out, at which all the Christian seated themselves, the slaves and Hottentots squatting, as in the morning, around the room. The father read some extracts from his old sermons, which was followed by the whole company singing a psalm... There were no other books in the house but the sermons and the Bible.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to the pragmatic, utilitarian and immediate functionality of printed books in the Cape colony, which we have pointed out at first and which justified the presence of many travel accounts in the collections, there is also a community dimension based on exchanging books and collective readings, and that made them the vector of religiousness and community membership in a colony made up of different groups. The religious

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<sup>70</sup> “For those can read it is a paltry contrivance for to walk to church to hear a little reading.” A. Tas, *The diary of Adam Tas*, 21.

<sup>71</sup> G. Schmidt, *Das Tagebuch und de Brief (1737–1744)* (Belleville: West-Kaaplandse Instituut, 1981), 448.

<sup>72</sup> J. Campbell, *Travels in Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1974 [1815]), 59.

<sup>73</sup> H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, 1928), II, 447. Percival also referred to practices: “Some villages indeed have a schoolmaster, but this man is compelled to labour as well as to teach, and is kept chiefly for the purpose of keeping their trifling accounts, writing their letters respecting their transactions in Cape Town, singing psalms of a Sunday; for they affect to be strenuously religious and very ostentatious about their devotion; it is practice with them to be continually chanting hymns and psalms, and before meals they uniformly use a long prayer of grace.” Percival, *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*, 206.

and identity function of books became increasingly important as one moved away from the city. The European and religious identity was carried through books and was emphasised by a feeling of monopoly on written culture.

This is all the more true since the VOC and the Cape authorities never bothered to teach the Khoikhoi to read and write. Contrary to what happened in America and other VOC colonies where missionaries were always present, the VOC never encouraged evangelistic activities in the Cape colony. Some believe this can be explained by the disappointed hopes of Maria van Riebeeck concerning one of the first interpreters, the young Eva, who was educated in the fort by the van Riebeecks as if she was “their own daughter”. After being converted to Christianity, the young Eva went preaching the Christian religion in the *kraal* of her brother-in-law Oedasoia, one of the main African chiefs. On her husband’s death, the young Eva who, “from a Hottentot female had almost become a Dutch woman”, deserted the colony and abandoned all her Christian and European dispositions. The day she died, the journal of the colony concluded that “she had gone back to her vomit like a dog”.<sup>74</sup> The VOC authorities had never envisaged the evangelisation of the Khoikhoi as a policy, so much so that after fifty years of Dutch presence at the Cape, there were four converted, of whom two committed suicide and another two ended up in prison on Robben Island. Not only did the VOC decide not to implement an evangelisation policy, it also worked towards dissuading individual attempts and slow down potential conversions.

The reluctance of the colonial authorities to favour conversions has often been interpreted as the exact overlay of a European identity with a religious identity, both impervious to cultural mobility.<sup>75</sup> To this match, one can add another almost perfectly matched-up identity that is the one linked to written culture. Fortunately, knowing that Anthony van Bengalen, a freed slave who came from Asia, owned two books in 1683,<sup>76</sup> that during the sale of van Gendt’s books, a Chinese man named ‘t Snees Onjako acquired several of them,<sup>77</sup> and that the Koranic verses written in

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<sup>74</sup> H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Journal of Isbrand Goske*, 1671–74, 209.

<sup>75</sup> See Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, and Fauvelle Aymar, *Histoire de l’Afrique du Sud*.

<sup>76</sup> Tyrell Gryn, *An account*. 21.

<sup>77</sup> CTAD, MOOC10/5.57 ½.

Arabic and Bugis (an Austronesian language) were carefully kept as if talisman by a group of slaves on the run in the 1780s, is reassuring.<sup>78</sup> written culture was not the monopoly of the European community alone.<sup>79</sup> However, faced with the massive presence of books in the 'material landscape' of the colony, these cases are not sufficient to refute the conclusion according to which the imposition of books was limited to populations of European origin alone. Should we then believe that books, as material objects, were the guarantor of an identity? In 1737, George Schmidt was sent by the Moravians, a pietistic movement developed in Germany from the Lutheran Church, to found an evangelistic mission in the Cape colony. At first he was welcomed by the Reformed Church but when the mission was about to become successful in converting locals along the Sondereind River, after the locals had learned how to read and write, the authorities, under pressure from the Church, hit back at the mission and the missionary was banned from the colony. As a matter of interest, a second Moravian mission was sent to the Cape in 1792. The three missionaries sent found Lena, a Khoikhoi woman, who officiated under the pear tree which Schmidt had planted some fifty years before. Also, she had with her a copy of the New Testament.<sup>80</sup>

### *Book Policy of the VOC*

One question remains: How did these books end up by the thousand at the Cape of Good Hope? Before trying to answer this question, let us look at the famous call at the Cape made by the Jesuit Fathers who had been sent to by the French King Louis XIV and his Prime Minister Colbert on a diplomatic and scientific expedition in the Kingdom of Siam in 1685. The imposing French fleet was initially perceived as a threat by the Cape colony which, at the time, was hosting Dutch General Commissioner Adriaan van Rhee de tot Drakenstein who, as a visitor, had authority over the actual Cape Governor, Simon van der Stel. Despite all their fears, good relations ensued between the authorities and the French visitors. The Jesuits were allowed to establish an "observatory", not far from the VOC gardens, and

<sup>78</sup> G. Groenewald et N. Worden, *Trials of slavery* (Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, 2005), 537–556.

<sup>79</sup> For a "hidden history" dealing with many of these cases, see Archie Dick, *The Hidden History of South Africa's Books and Reading Cultures* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

<sup>80</sup> Schmidt, *Das Tagebuch und de Brief*, and Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, 29.

were asked, in exchange, to divulgate their results, which “would be of great service to their Pilots, by giving them the definitive longitude of the Cape of Good Hope which they only knew as an estimate”.<sup>81</sup> But the curiosity of the Jesuits did not stop to stellar mapping and “a few of the Fathers were tasked with learning [about the quality of the country] while others with observing”. All means were good to gather information: “In this perspective, we tried to learn from M. van der Stel, during the various interviews we had with him, about anything that could contribute to this end, and we became acquainted with a young doctor from Bressau in Silesia, named M. Heinrich Claudius, whom the Dutch kept at the Cape for his skills. Since he had already travelled to China and Japan, where he took the habit of observing everything, and since he drew and painted animals and plants to perfection, the Dutch had kept him here to help them carry out their new discoveries inland, and work on the natural history of Africa”. Governor van der Stel, as well as visiting General Commissioner van Rheede, despite their good disposition, seemed less inclined to talk freely than the young Heinrich Claudius “who had already completed two large folio volumes of various plants painted realistically, and who had picked up many species of plants and stuck them in another volume. Undoubtedly M. van Rheede who still had these books at home and who showed them to us, intended to publish soon a *Hortus Africanus*, after his previous publication *Hortus Malabaricus*. If these books had been for sale, we would have spared no expense to buy them and send them to the King’s library”.<sup>82</sup> Clearly, not all books were meant to be sold at the Cape, even for a price. Manuscripts and books regarding the “state of the country” were jealously guarded by the authorities.

But there is more: in a letter addressed to the VOC Directors, dated 26 April 1688, Simon van der Stel expressed his “considerable dissatisfaction” after learning about everything that M. Heinrich had told the French Jesuits during their visits. He also mentioned how “relieved he was to have chased away” from the colony the painter who had directly served him as official *secrétarie* during the inland expedition to Namaqualand in 1685. Although Claudius was an invaluable observer and painter for the VOC, the Governor had no remorse in expelling him from the colony. It is even likely that Claudius’ expulsion was the reason behind van Rheede’s failed African botanical project. What is certain is that the decision to expel this

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<sup>81</sup> G. Tachard, *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites envoyés par le Roy aux Indes et à la Chine*, (Paris: A. Seneuze and D. Horthemels, 1686), 70.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 87–88.



very useful doctor from the colony came straight, not after the saty of Father Tachard's arrival in the colony in 1685 but after his book, *Voyage de Siam*, published in 1686, has arrived at the Cape. This book which had found its way to the Cape colony (as confirmed by the von Dessin collection) infuriated van der Stel. The following was probably one of the passages that displeased him the most, to the point of expelling his official *secretarie*:

Since this knowledgeable Doctor had already travelled inland towards the North and the East to make discoveries, it is from him that we obtained all the information we have of this country, of which he supplied us with a small hand-drawn map including a few drawing of the local inhabitants and the rarest animals which I had printed here.<sup>83</sup>

The day the promising observer Heinrich Claudius left the colony, he probably regretted that Tachard's book had landed on a European printing press and, worst, that the book mentioning him so explicitly had been transported all the way to the tip of Southern Africa. This anecdote confirms that the circulation of books was not without consequences. But besides this point and in absence of additional elements, it seems that the VOC never intended to implement a "book policy", as it did for manuscripts from the very beginning.<sup>84</sup> Books circulated freely between Europe and the Cape, and the fact that Tachard's *Voyage de Siam* ended up one day in the hands of Simon van der Stel was pure chance, insofar as it had to do with private initiatives and not with a VOC decision. Reverend J.G. d'Ailly did receive financial help from the Political Council to import books, after "he had recently heard about this facility".<sup>85</sup> In 1788, *Oppeercoopman* Le Sueur had to request a special authorisation to send back a complete library to his son who was studying in Holland.<sup>86</sup> The Reformed Church, after inheriting von Dessin's collection in 1762, requested exemption from the tax on the transport of books, to make up for the service offered to the colony.<sup>87</sup> But this isolated involvement was certainly not enough to create a "book policy".<sup>88</sup> Except for the books

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., *Voyage*, 87–88.

<sup>84</sup> See Adrien Delmas, "Une brève histoire de l'écriture quotidienne à bord de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales, XVIIe siècle" in R. Bertrand et E. Sibeud (éds.), *Cultures d'Empires* (Paris: Karthala, 2013).

<sup>85</sup> Tyrell Gynn, *An account*, 20.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>88</sup> Note the difference with the Spanish *Carrera de Indias* studied, among others, by Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (México: FCE, 1982); Juan Friede, "La censura española del siglo XVI y los libros de América", *Revista de Historia de*

found in the Captain's cabin, the VOC used to account for books in terms of weight exclusively. Before landing at the Cape or in any other VOC possessions, books circulated in *scheepskisten*, the trunks of ship crew members, among other personal effects, with a permanent view to saving on space. The possibility of taking books on board then depended on one's rank within the very strict hierarchy of the VOC, with officers being allowed much heavier loads than the other members of the crew. Many inventories of *scheepskisten* drawn up after the death of their owners and re-transcribed in the *grootboek*, the accounts book specific to every ship, confirm the presence of books in personal effects.<sup>89</sup> Some even sacrificed space allocated to their luggage to take books on board and resale them once at sea. As seen previously, there is nothing absurd about thinking that certain VOC officers could have taken books on board with a view to swapping them for other goods at the Cape.<sup>90</sup> Books were indeed the subject of lucrative trading between members of the Company. The VOC, without which book trading between continents could not have happened, has been known with a sharper sense of profit! Worse still, when we know the way in which private trade was reprimanded, we can only wonder about its lack of 'commercial' interest in printed books and their circulation between continents. The non-existence of a book policy and a book trade implemented by the VOC is even more surprising, in that the Company had every means at its disposal to regulate their circulation. While the VOC did intervene regularly to control the spread of manuscripts produced within its ranks, as well as the world of printing in

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*América*, n°47, Mexico, Instituto panamericano de Geografía e Historia (1959) ; Jose Toribio Medina, *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceanía* (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico Bibliográfico de José Toribio Medina, 1958); Edmundo O'Gorman, *Bibliotecas y libreros coloniales*, *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, X (1939) 4, 663–907; J. Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española* (Buenos Aires: Publicaciones del instituto de investigaciones históricas, núm. LXXIV, 1940); Irving Leonard, *Books of the braves*; Carlos Alberto Gonzáles Sánchez, *Los mundos del libro : medios de difusión de la cultura occidental en las Indias de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2001); Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Sevilla: CSIC, 2005). As far as the VOC is concerned, H. Ketting, *Leven, werk en rebellie aan boord van Oost-Indiëvaarders (1595–ca. 1650)* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2002).

<sup>89</sup> For the sole period of 1600–1650, we find inventories in the following accounts books: Algemeen Rijksarchief, VOC 5270 *Nassau* (16/8/1635); ARA, VOC 5275 *Gulden Buijs* (26/9/1640), ARA, VOC 5278 *Koning van Polen* (18/5/1646); ARA, VOC 5273 *Zon* (30/04/1638) ARA, VOC 5271 *Keizerin* (26/3/1636); (57) ARA, VOC 5278 *Konong van Polen*; (58) ARA, VOC 5275 (62) ARA, VOC 5274 *Rog* (20/12/1638).

<sup>90</sup> See Immelman, "Joachim von Dessin: Die man en sy boekery".

Europe<sup>91</sup>—two ‘worlds’ which are difficult to control—it never decided to intervene in the circulation of books as made possible by its own fleets. Searching for the inventories of thousands of books taken from Europe to Africa and Asia would be searching in vain. Such inventories would have been the first step of a control system which was never established. There were no controls on embarking or disembarking. The *equipagie* division in charge of carrying out the inventory of the ship’s armament and supplies, which was so meticulous when it came to weighing spices and was even ready to quarantine whole crews to check maps and logbooks, paid no attention to all the books piled up between their pairs of trousers, towels and other personal effects.

After deciding to use manuscripts over books in the internal running of the company,<sup>92</sup> the VOC was no longer concerned about books circulating on board, leaving the greater part of this massive distribution throughout several continents to individual initiatives. Once more thus, the boundary is to be found between the printed word and the manuscript. The post system, admittedly a late addition, indeed marked the height of the company’s suspicion towards the manuscript. An official post box existed on board ships for private correspondence, but remained largely unpopular because it was systematically subjected to censorship.<sup>93</sup> While on the bridge any letter was opened, read and sometimes censored, entire libraries were circulating in the ship’s hold with no one complaining about it. That is why, in order to reconstruct the “Ocean of Books” created by the commercial activities of the VOC,<sup>94</sup> private libraries present in the VOC possessions constitute the best if not the only entries in this regard. In addition to the Cape Library, one should refer to the libraries of Batavia, Ternate, Ambon, Formosa, Deshima, Coromandel, Ceylon, etc.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>91</sup> See Adrien Delmas, *Les voyages de l'écrit. Culture écrite et expansion européenne à l'époque moderne, essais sur la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2013).

<sup>92</sup> See Adrien Delmas, “From Travelling to History: an outline of the VOC writing system in the 17th Century” in Adrien Delmas and N. Penn (eds.), *Written Culture in a Colonial Context, Africa and the Americas, 1500–1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

<sup>93</sup> See P.J. Moree, “*Met vriend die Goed geleid*”: *het Nederlands-Aziatisch postvervoer ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1998).

<sup>94</sup> The expression comes from Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, “Un océano de libros: la Carrera de Indias en el siglo XVI”, in Manuel Peña Díaz et al. (eds.), *La cultura del libro en la Edad Moderna. Andalucía y América* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2001), 233–254.

<sup>95</sup> In Batavia, a book order was placed with the Directors of the VOC as early as 1623. In 1779, the foundation of the *Bataviaasche Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* or Arts and Science Society in Batavia created a library with a catalogue containing hundreds

Considering all these books sent overseas, it is clear that the 'Magasin de l'Univers'—an expression dedicated to designate the Dutch library of the Golden Age—cannot be understood without embracing the four 'parts of the world' between which relationships were forged through books. Thus, instead of searching for a reader who could have read all the books, it is time, with the 'geography of the book',<sup>96</sup> to search for readers, wherever they have been on earth, who have all read the same book.

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of titles. Someone like the botanist Rumphius who lived for over forty years in Ambon, through his correspondence gave an idea of the books circulating in the Moluccas. See, ARA, VOC, Resolution of 11 December 1623; K. Smith Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies to 1850.*; See W. Buijze, *Rumphius' bibliotheek op Ambon 1654–1702 en een biografisch lexicon van wetenschappelijke contacten destijds in Azië met Europa* (The Hague: Houtschild, 2004).

<sup>96</sup> This expression is from M. Ogborn (ed.), *Geographies of the book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

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